JEWISH THEMES IN LONGFELLOW

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2014

PREFACE

When Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was born in Portland, Maine, in 1807, there was not a Jewish presence in the city. Indeed, not until 1849 was the first synagogue built in Maine,[1] and by that time Longfellow was living in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Cambridge, however, was scarcely a bastion of Jewry: when Longfellow settled in Cambridge after taking the position of professor of foreign languages at Harvard in 1836, there were fewer than 40 Jews living in Boston.[2]

Moreover, although Longfellow was a professor of languages, his skill did not include Hebrew. He spoke, or read, or at least was conversational in, Italian, French, German, Spanish, Danish, Swedish, Latin, Greek, and Dutch, but he was merely familiar with Hebrew.[3]

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[1] See Maine History Online at http://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/1888/page/3104/display?use_mmn=, a part of the Colby College Maine Jewish History Project. See http://web.colby.edu/jewsinmaine/.

[2] Jonathan D. Sarna, Ellen Smith, Scott-Martin Kosofsky, *The Jews of Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 4.

[3] Paul Morin, *Les Sources de L'oeuvre de Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Doctoral Thesis) (Paris: Emile LaRose, 1913). Longfellow's journal entry for November 8, 1849, notes that his friend Emanuel Vitalis Scherb (about whom more below) came and

Despite Longfellow's lack of familiarity with actual, living Jews, and despite his inability to read Hebrew (let alone Aramaic), his poems contain many references to Jewish legends and Jewish characters. I undertook this project first to catalogue all of the rabbinic (not Biblical)[4] references, then to determine, if I could, the sources of Longfellow's knowledge of things Jewish, and then to determine, if I could, why Longfellow would have employed Jewish themes in his poems.

The first task was relatively easy. The second task involved some serious, detective work. The third task was not one that I could definitively accomplish. I discovered where Longfellow found his ideas, but his motives remain unknown, because he did not record them. John Appel in particular has made an educated guess,[5] and I have tried to refine, or at least support, his position.

"repeated to me some of the Psalms, in Hebrew; strange, mysterious language, building up poems with square blocks of sound." Quoted in Louis Harap, *The Image of the Jew in American Literature* (Philadelphia: JPS 1974), 93.

[4] For a catalogue of Biblical references in Longfellow's work, see Morin at 542-561.

[5] John J. Appel, "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Presentation of the Spanish Jews," *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, vol. 45, 20 (September, 1955).

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW: A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

On February 27, 1807, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was born in Portland, Maine to a comfortable and prominent, if not necessarily wealthy, family. William Longfellow settled in Maine in 1678, and founded a line of Stephens. The first was a successful farmer, then followed Longfellow's paternal great-grandfather, who was a Harvard College graduate and later a clerk of the judicial court in Portland (when the city's name was Falmouth). His son Stephen was a multi-term, Massachusetts legislator[6] and later a judge, and was additionally one of the founders of Bowdoin College, and his son Stephen (Henry's father) was an attorney and a member of the Massachusetts legislature as well as a member of Congress. He too was a graduate of Harvard College and, later, a member of the governing boards of Bowdoin.[7]

Longfellow's mother, Zilpah Wadsworth, was the daughter of a Revolutionary War general, Peleg Wadsworth, a landowner and merchant, and also a graduate of Harvard College. Longfellow was named after Zilpah's brother Henry Wadsworth, who died in the service of the United States Navy in 1804 during a mission

[6] Maine did not become a state until 1820; until then, it was part of Massachusetts. See the State's official website at http://www.state.me.us/legis/general/history/hstry5.htm.
[7] For a brief history of the struggles for control over Bowdoin College, see Charles C. Calhoun, *Longfellow, a Rediscovered Life* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), at 35-36, 58-59, and 71-72.

in Tripoli fighting the Barbary pirates. Zilpah and the fourth Stephen were married on New Year's Day 1804, and Henry was the second of eight children.

The family attended the First Parish Church in Portland, which was theologically liberal and indeed was essentially a Unitarian church. Longfellow's brother Samuel, later a Unitarian minister and biographer of Longfellow, wrote that Longfellow "'was nurtured at church and at home.'"[8]

After a primary education at some private schools and the Portland public school, Longfellow entered Bowdoin in 1821.[9] While a student, he wrote poems that were accepted for publication by local newspapers and a Boston magazine, the *United States Literary Gazette*. These poems were signed "H.W.L.," and some of them had been praised by William Cullen

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[8] Quoted by Newton Arvin, *Longfellow, His Life and Work* (Boston: Little, Brown [Atlantic Monthly Press], 1963), at 10. Unitarianism "emerged" in this Country in the early 19th century, and was distinguished from other forms of Christianity by the rejection of the concept of the Trinity as well as the rejection of the God-ness of Jesus. By 1825, when Longfellow was 18 years old, Unitarian ministers had formed the American Unitarian Association, and the ministers preached education reform, prison reform, ministry to the poor, and the abolition of slavery. See the website of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, http://www.uua.org/index.shtml. (The Unitarian Church and the Universalist Church merged in 1961 to form Unitarian Universalism. See http://www.uua.org/beliefs/history/6903.shtml).

[9] Among his classmates was Nathaniel Hawthorne. Another student there at the time was Franklin Pierce.

Bryant, who did not know at the time who "H.W.L." was.[10] Nevertheless, in the United States in the early 19th century, no writer (with the possible exception of Washington Irving) was supporting himself by writing, and upon graduation from Bowdoin, Longfellow resigned himself to becoming a lawyer.

Fortuitously (or, as Calhoun suggests at 41-42, owing to the intervention of Longfellow's father), the administration of Bowdoin College decided to create a professorship of modern languages and offer the position to Longfellow. This offer was a bold one, both because Longfellow was only 18 years old, and because Longfellow did not speak any modern language other than what Arvin describes as a "smattering of French."[11] To remedy the latter deficiency, the administration proposed that Longfellow travel to Europe, spend a few years there, and learn the languages that he would be teaching.

Longfellow landed in France in June, 1826, and returned to New York in August, 1829. During those three years, he lived in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, and mastered French, Italian, and Spanish. He was able to read Portuguese, and became at least conversational in German. As Arvin writes,

> Of course it was decisive for [Longfellow] as a writer. No other American, not even Irving, had hitherto had just that experience and few were to have it later; it

[10] Arvin, *Longfellow*, 9, 14.
[11] Arvin, 21.

> meant that Europe - France, Spain, Italy, Germany - was to enter into the tissue of Longfellow's sensibility as it has entered into that of few Americans, and that his work was to be a subtle and very special, but wholly spontaneous, fusion of the native and the foreign.[12]

In September, 1829, Longfellow began teaching French and Spanish at Bowdoin.[13] In 1831 he married Mary Storer Potter, but Longfellow was already feeling constrained by the small-town environment of Brunswick, Maine. He periodically sought other positions without success, but in 1834 his luck changed, and the president of Harvard offered Longfellow the Smith Professorship of modern languages.

The college encouraged Longfellow to study in Germany for 12 to 18 months, so that Longfellow could improve his German. Thus, in April, 1835, Longfellow, Mary, and two companions to entertain Mary[14] while Longfellow was studying, embarked for Europe.

This trip was shorter than Longfellow's first trip, and as productive and more dramatic. Longfellow did perfect his

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[12] Arvin, 22.

[13] Longfellow was in a very select group. At that time, only three other colleges in the United States taught languages: Harvard, William and Mary, and the University of Virginia. Arvin, 26. Later in Longfellow's tenure at Bowdoin, he additionally taught German and Italian. Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 79.

[14] One was Clara Crowninshield, whom we will encounter below.

German, and he also acquired an "adequate knowledge"[15] of Swedish and Danish, learned conversational Dutch, and studied Finnish. Mary, however, fell ill in Copenhagen while pregnant, and died in Rotterdam in November, 1835.[16]

Longfellow returned to the United States in time for the 1836-1837 academic year, and soon took a room in what is known to this day as the Craigie House, at 105 Brattle Street in Cambridge, where he lived for the rest of his life.[17] Simultaneously, he resumed writing poetry, and in 1839 he published his first volume of collected poems, *Voices of the Night*. He published poems every year after 1839 until his death in 1882,[18] but for present purposes we will mention only some of them: "Evangeline" (1847), "The Golden Legend" (1851), "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport" (1852), *The Song of Hiawatha*

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[15] Arvin, *Longfellow*, 31

[16] Mary's death devastated Longfellow. When he returned to the United States, he burned all of her papers that he possessed. Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 90.

[17] The Craigie House is named after Andrew Craigie, who bought it in 1791, after the house was confiscated by the fledgling United States government when the original owner, John Vassall, remained loyal to the Crown. When Longfellow remarried, it was to a woman named Fanny Appleton, whose father eventually bought the house and gave it to Longfellow and Fanny. The house had been George Washington's headquarters for some months during the Revolutionary War, and it is today part of the National Park Service, the Longfellow House-Washington's Headquarters National Historic Site.

[18] In fact, Longfellow published poems every year after 1829. For a complete, chronological list of the poems, see *The Complete Poetical Works of Longfellow*, (Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin [Riverside Press], 1922 [one-volume edition; there is a six-volume edition as well]), Appendix, starting 676.

(1855),[19] "Sandalphon" (1858),[20] *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (Part I) (1863), *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (Part II) (1870), and *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (Part III) (1873).

To accompany the changes in Longfellow's professional life and poetical life, there were changes as well in his domestic life: he married Fanny (Frances) Appleton, whom he had met in Europe after Mary died. He pursued Fanny without success for five years, but she without any explanation relented in 1843. Together, they had six children, all but one of whom lived to be adults.

Fanny, however, died after a tragic, household accident on July 9, 1861, when she tried to seal with wax a lock of hair of one their daughters in an envelope. Somehow, Fanny's dress caught fire, and although Longfellow tried to (and did) smother the flames, she was too badly burned to survive and died the next day, their 18th wedding anniversary.[21]

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[19] Longfellow actually specified the pronunciation, "Hee-a-wath-a." See John Rush Powell, ed., *The Narrative Poems of Longfellow*, (Chicago: Scott, Forsman 1980), 399 n.60.

[20] *The Complete Poetical Works* Appendix lists the date of publication of "Sandalphon" as 1857. Longfellow's journal entry for January 17, 1858, reads: "finished the poem 'Sandalphon,' a strange legend from the Talmud of the Angel of Prayer." Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Papers (MS Am 1340). Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[21] Almost 50 years later, another version of the accident surfaced, as told by one of his daughters, Edith (by then, Mrs. Joseph Thorp): Annie Longfellow, at that time five years old, was playing with matches that were designed to ignite when scratched against any rough surface. Annie dropped one of the

Longfellow lived in a place where many of the intellectuals of the United States flourished, and his friendships with prominent thinkers were international. Among his friends he counted Charles Sumner (the United States Senator), Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, Richard Henry Dana, Jr. (author of *Two Years Before the Mast*),[22] Charles Dickens, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Franz Liszt,[23] Joseph Story (Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court), and Samuel Cutler Ward (whose sister Julia [whom Longfellow did not much like] wrote "The Battle Hymn of the Republic).

Perhaps representative of the kind of people who visited Longfellow and with whom he associated was the last British visitor to Craigie House, on January 30, 1882, less than two months before Longfellow died. This 28-year-old English writer paid Longfellow a visit at a time when Longfellow's star was

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matches under Fanny's dress, and either Annie or Fanny stepped on the match, causing it to ignite. See Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 217, and Arvin, *Longfellow*, 139. Arvin suggests, following conventional explanations, that Longfellow grew the beard that he sports in most photographs because the fire so badly scarred his face. 143. Calhoun questions this explanation, but notes that after Fanny's death, "[Longfellow seems to have aged twenty years, as it were, overnight." Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 221.

[22] Longfellow knew four generations of Danas. Richard Henry Dana (1787-1879) was a poet and co-founder of the *North American Review*, his son Richard Henry Dana, Jr. (1815-1882) was the author of *Two Years Before the Mast*, his son Richard Henry Dana II (1851-1931) married Longfellow's daughter Edith, and Longfellow's first grandchild was Edith's son Richard Henry Dana. See Robert L. Gale, *A Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Companion* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003), 57-59.

[23] Whose portrait hangs in the Craigie House.

setting and the young, English writer's was rising. His name was Oscar Wilde.[24]

[24] See Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 1-3, for an account of the visit.

LONGFELLOW'S POETICAL LEGACY: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION

Longfellow while alive was "the most widely read poet in the English-speaking world."[25] By 1857, an incomplete tally of the volumes of his poems that had been published to that date totaled 326,258, including 50,000 copies of the *The Song of Hiawatha*.[26] At least 25,000 copies of "The Courtship of Miles Standish," which had been published in 1858 were sold in the first two months, and another 10,000 copies were sold on its initial publication date in London.[27] The first volume of *The Tales of a Wayside Inn*, which was published at the height of the Civil War, had a print run of 15,000 copies.[28]

Longfellow's popularity dwarfed the popularity of contemporaneous, American poets. *The Song of Hiawatha* was published in 1855, a year that saw the publication of another volume of poetry that has come to be considered one of the great poetic compilations of American literature: Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Nevertheless, as *The Cambridge History of American Literature* notes,

> *The Song of Hiawatha* appeared side by side with *Leaves of Grass* in bookstalls in 1855. *Hiawatha* sold 10,00 copies in the first four

[25] Calhoun, 1.
[26] Calhoun, 199.
[27] Calhoun, 198.
[28] See Longfellow's journal entry of November 25, 1863, quoted in Brian E. Plumb, *A History of Longfellow's Wayside Inn* (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2011) 79.

> weeks and 30,000 copies in six months, while most of Whitman's first edition had to be given away.[29]

Longfellow, moreover, was not merely beloved. His poems included phrases that are both instantly recognizable (although not necessarily as being from Longfellow's poems) and are part of the common lexicon today, more than 130 years after he died.

It was Longfellow who first described missed chances as "ships that pass in the night," the opening line of Part iv of "The Theologian's Tale: Elizabeth," from the third volume of *Wayside Inn*. It was Longfellow who first "shot an arrow into the air,/It fell to earth, I knew not where," the first line of "The Arrow and the Song," written in 1845. It was Longfellow who first left "footprints on the sands of time," in "A Psalm of Life," published in 1838. Everybody, at least everybody of a certain age, knows the first line of "Evangeline" ("This is the forest primeval"), even if he no longer knows the source. Everybody, at least everybody of a certain age, knows the first line of the last part of *The Song of Hiawatha* (Part XXII: Hiawatha's Departure) ("By the shore of Gitche Gumee,/By the shining Big-Sea-Water"), even if he no longer remembers the source. And everybody, perhaps even people not of a certain age, knows the first line of "The Landlord's Tale," the opening

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[29] Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2004) ("Poetic languages," Shira Wolosky), 248.

tale from *Wayside Inn*, and, moreover, everybody knows exactly the source of that line, even if he knows the source by another name, and most people can continue to quote even more than the first line:

> Listen, my children, and you shall hear
> Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
> On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
> Hardly a man is now alive
> Who remembers that famous day and year.[30]

Today, however, Longfellow is clearly not "the most widely read poet in the English-speaking world." Moreover, his body of work has been ridiculed and his importance in the pantheon of American poets has not merely been belittled. It has been derided and his place has even been excised. Arvin quotes Ludwig Lewisohn as asking, "Who, except wretched schoolchildren, now reads Longfellow?"[31]

> "Longfellow is to poetry what the barrel-organ is to music," Van Wyck Brooks wrote in 1915. Lewis Mumford said that Longfellow could be cut out of American literary history and no one would miss him or even notice.[32]

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[30] "The Landlord's Tale," which is subtitled "Paul Revere's Ride," was originally published in the "Atlantic Monthly" in 1860, three years before *Wayside Inn* was published. Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 221.

[31] Arvin, *Longfellow*, 321. Longfellow might take some consolation from the likelihood that his name today is more recognizable than Lewisohn's; as Calhoun says, "It would be perhaps unkind to ask who now reads the once prolific Ludwig Lewisohn." *Longfellow* at 255.

[32] Jill Lepore, "Longfellow's Ride," *The American Scholar* 80, no. 1 (Winter 2011), reprinted in Jill Lepore, *The Story of America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012) at 220ff.

Indeed, Arvin, who seems to admire Longfellow,[33] with seemingly faint praise describes him as "a lesser but not a little writer, a minor poet but not a poetaster."[34]

Arvin, however, wrote in 1962, and there have been some changes since then. In one case, there is praise that does not involve Longfellow's own poems. Longfellow translated Dante's *Divine Comedy* (he finished the work in 1866), and in 2000, the Poet Laureate of the United States, Robert Pinsky, said that in preparing his own translation of Dante, Pinsky found Longfellow's version to be "extremely useful," "quite accurate," and "by far the best as a work of art."[35]

Moreover, even the poet Longfellow seems to command more respect than he did mere decades ago.

> Today [wrote Calhoun in 2004], there is also evidence that Longfellow is being treated with greater academic respect, even if he is not likely to regain a place in anybody's canon, much less be taught in any serious and consistent fashion. At least he is no longer a joke.[36]

Indeed, less than a decade after Calhoun wrote his biography of Longfellow, another interpretation of one of his ostensibly

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[33] Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 255-256.
[34] Arvin, *Longfellow*, 326.
[35] Meghan Fitzmaurice, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, American Poet, Linguist, and Educator* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2006), 92.
[36] Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 258.

schoolboy poems has been voiced, praising him in a way that would not have been possible not long ago.

Jill Lepore, a staff writer for the *New Yorker* and the David Woods Kemper ’41 Professor of American History at Harvard, has proposed reasonably convincingly that "Paul Revere's Ride," rather than being a children's poem that mangles American history (the poem gets almost no historical fact right), is really a call to arms directed at abolitionists and casts the battle over slavery as another American Revolution. Moreover, asserts Lepore, readers of the time understood the real message of the poem.[37]

Perhaps the best assessment of Longfellow's contribution to American literature is Calhoun's closing remark:

> It would be an exaggeration to say that Longfellow invented America. But that he imagined and perfected and made memorable so many aspects of how America is conceived remains his most enduring achievement.[38]

[37] Lepore, "Longfellow's Ride." Although Longfellow wrote a collection of poems dedicated to the abolition of slavery, *Poems on Slavery*, he was criticized in his lifetime before the Civil War for not publicly condemning slavery. Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 155-157. If Lepore is correct, then "Paul Revere's Ride" reveals Longfellow to be as outspoken as any abolitionist.
[38] Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 262.

LONGFELLOW AND THE JEWS

When Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was born in Portland, Maine, in 1807, there was not a Jewish presence in the city. Indeed, not until 1849 was the first synagogue built in Maine,[39] and by that time Longfellow was living in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Cambridge, however, was scarcely a bastion of Jewry: when Longfellow settled in Cambridge after taking the position of professor of foreign languages at Harvard in 1836, there were fewer than 40 Jews living in Boston.[40]

Moreover, when Longfellow was born, there were fewer than 3000 Jews living in the United States, and even by 1860, there were no more than 200,000 Jews living in the entire United States and almost none of them lived in Boston: on the eve of the Civil War, only approximately 1000 Jews lived in Boston.[41]

It is unclear what manner of contact Longfellow had with Jews by 1851 (a date the meaning of which will become clear shortly). On November 9, 1823, when Longfellow was a student at Bowdoin College, he mentioned in a letter to his mother that he

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[39] See Maine History Online at http://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/1888/page/3104/display?use_mmn=, a part of the Colby College Maine Jewish History Project. See http://web.colby.edu/jewsinmaine/.
[40] Sarna, Smith, Kosofsky, *The Jews of Boston*, 4.
[41] Sarna, Smith, 4.

was reading *The Literary Character*, by Isaac D'Israeli.[42] Years later, during Longfellow's first European trip, he wrote from Paris to his brother Stephen on July 23, 1826, that on the "Italian Boulevards" there was much "carrying on," including "Jewish cymbals and cat-calls."[43]

After Longfellow returned and was teaching at Bowdoin, he included another book by D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*,[44]

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[42] Andrew Hilen, *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Vol. I) (Cambridge: Belknap Press 1966), letter no. 31. D'Israeli was the father of Benjamin Disraeli, the English Prime Minister who served briefly in that capacity in 1868, and then again from 1874-1880. Although Isaac had all of his children baptized into the Anglican faith, see, *e.g.*, Stanley Weintraub, *Disraeli* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 31-32, Isaac himself never abandoned Judaism. It is unclear whether Longfellow knew at that time that D'Israeli was Jewish. D'Israeli also wrote *The Literary Character* (full title: *The Literary Character, Illustrated by the History of Men of Genius, Drawn From the Their own Feelings and Confessions*) in 1795, Weintraub, 28 (the third edition of *The Literary Character* is digitally available in its entirety at http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015058406094;view=1up;seq=9), and included in Chapter VI is an account of the education of Moses Mendelssohn, 112 ff. If Longfellow read this particular part of this particular chapter (and we have no way to know that he did at that time or even later), he would have encountered a number of themes or concepts that he employed in his poetry: the challenges that Jews faced when attempting to enter the worlds of philosophy and literature, the use of the word "rabbin" (113) to mean "rabbi," the "numerous folios of the Talmud" (114), and the name Maimonides (which in fact is not mentioned in Longfellow's poems).

[43] Hilen, *Letters*, no. 100.

[44] *Curiosities of Literature* is a compilation of articles that D'Israeli wrote between 1791 and 1807. The book is available on-line at http://www.spamula.net/col/.archives/2005/08/the_jews_of_york.html, and the 1835 edition is available in its entirety at http://archive.org/stream/disraelicuriosit01disr#page/94/mode/2up).

in a list of "works to be consulted."[45] This book included chapters called "The Talmud" and "Rabbinical Stories,"[46] and another version contains a chapter called, "The Jews of York."

Later, on his second Europe trip, Longfellow made a comment about a Jew whom he encountered, and one comment about a painting of Jews. The first comment is contained in a journal entry dated June 27, 1835:

> The Jew [a fellow traveler in a coach] . . . was a comical looking character, draped in gray, with the customary hooked nose and half-moon mouth of his tribe; though he could hardly be less than sixty years old he travelled night and day, so as to avoid paying for a lodging . . . .[47]

To the extent that this comment implies antisemitism on Longfellow's part, we will have more to say below.

The comment about the painting concerned a picture that Longfellow saw in Mainz in June, 1836: "a collection of disgusting, fat Jewish faces, indicating an overfed and

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[45] Quoted in John J. Appel, "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Presentation of the Spanish Jews," *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, vol. 45, 20 (September, 1955), 25, n25.

[46] The chapter "Rabbinical Stories" specifically references a 1711 German book by a "Dr. Eisenmenger," "a ponderous labour, of which the scope was to ridicule the Jewish Traditions." 101. The chapter contains none of the stories that Longfellow later incorporated into his poems, but about Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* (Judaism Unmasked) we will have more to say.

[47] Quoted in Appel, "Presentation of the Spanish Jews," 22.

corpulent imagination in the artist." This comment has been construed to be criticism of the artist, not of Jews.[48]

In addition, Longfellow encountered another Jew, a young man who fancied himself a potential suitor of Clara Crowninshield. One of her traveling companions made a derogatory remark about him, and Longfellow alone defended the man. Nevertheless, Longfellow did help Crowninshield to convince the man that she was already engaged, when in fact she was not.[49]

On August 26, 1842, Longfellow wrote a letter to Catherine Eliot Norton from a spa in Germany, where Longfellow was "taking the waters." Describing a fellow guest, Longfellow wrote, "The pale, young Jewess, who is carried out in her chair every morning to sit on the terrace, and breathe the fresh air."[50] Longfellow continued, "It is one of my weaknesses, to become

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[48] Edward Wagenknecht, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Portrait of an American Humanist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 200. J.K. Packard, in "Longfellow and the Jewish Cemetery at Newport," in *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association*, vol. 5, November, 1968, no. 2 (168-175) (available online at http://www.rijha.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/5-2-Nov-68-130-167.pdf), also interprets Longfellow's comment to be an indictment of the artist, not of the Jews.

[49] Wagenknecht, 201.

[50] Hilen, *Letters*, no. 715. In a footnote to the letter, Hilen observes that the spa's guest register lists a Frau Cohen and two daughters. Hilen suggests that Longfellow was referencing one of the daughters.

attached to people and places." We will revisit this theme later.

Finally, when attempting to list all of Longfellow's recorded contacts with Jews, we read a description of a dinner at Craigie House on the night of May 14, 1845. The dinner was memorialized in a letter the next day to Thomas Appleton (Fanny's brother):

> Yesterday brought home to dine with us, a living Arab with tunic and crimson velvet Fez cap, who came into my lecture to get subscribers for a book of Travels and sell "pastilles de Serial [A.H: tablets of the seraglio]." I made him break the law of the Kuran by drinking iced Champaigne: and after dinner we smoked and drank coffee under the apple-tree in the garden. He looked very picturesquely stalking along the piazzas: and I suspect enjoyed it as much as we did - the good Seyd Edrehi. I am much mistaken if it was not the pleasantest day he has yet passed in America.[51]

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[51] Hilen, *Letters*, no. 866. In a footnote to this letter, Hilen says:

> The "Arab" whom Longfellow calls Sayd Edrehi (Sayyid is "Lord" in Arabic) was possibly Isaac Edrehi (d. 1884, aged seventy-three), the Spanish Jew of the *Tales of a Wayside Inn*. According to the *Death Register* (I, 105) in the Philadelphia Department of Records, Edrehi was born in Holland; but as the son of Moses Edrehi, a Moroccan-born cabalist, linguist, and author he had inherited a penchant for Oriental robes and other fancies. He came to the United States about this time to seek a publisher for a reprint of his father's works. That Edrehi recovered his rightful heritage in Longfellow's poem is explained

Longfellow had almost no contact with actual Jews, and could not read Hebrew (let alone Aramaic). Moreover, he had not studied any of the great Jewish works such as the Talmud, although a journal entry of May 17, 1846, suggest that Fanny read to him excerpts from a book called, *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud*, which discusses the Talmud almost never, but relates many midrashim[52] (none of which is the basis of a theme in a Longfellow poem). Nevertheless, in 1851, he crammed into a vignette in *The Golden Legend*, "The Village School," almost a dozen references to Jewish personalities, customs, and books that an early- to mid-19th century Protestant, even one well versed in the Bible, would probably not know.

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by the fact that he conformed to Sephardic practice and ritual.

We will say more about Isaac Edrehi below, when we discuss the *Wayside Inn*.

[52] Noted in Appel, "Longfellow's Presentation of the Spanish Jews," 26, n.27 and surrounding text. Broadly speaking, midrashim are 1200- to 1800-year-old stories that endeavor to provide an explanation for certain of the actions of characters in the Bible. *The Bible, The Koran* was written by a G. Weil, Librarian of the University of Heidelberg, sometime before 1846. Appel references an edition published by Harper & Brothers, in New York, and a digitized version of that edition, published in 1846, is available at http://www.archive.org/stream/biblekorantalmud00weiliala/biblekorantalmud00weiliala_djvu.txt. A digitized version of the same book, also published in 1846, by Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, is available at https://archive.org/stream/biblekorantalmu00weil#page/n3/mode/2up. Both editions are translations from German, but neither version names the translator. Despite the title of the book, it cites the Talmud substantively only once. It does, however, cite various midrashim 29 times.

THE GOLDEN LEGEND

The Golden Legend, which was finished in 1851, is a play, and was envisioned by Longfellow as the medieval part of a three-part, dramatic poem that would treat three aspects of Christianity: hope, faith, and charity.[53] According to Arvin, *The Golden Legend* was the poem of faith.[54] Part VIII of "The Golden Legend," "The Village School," describes a classroom scene in which a rabbi instructs two students: Judas Iscariot and Jesus. Befitting a poem about Christian faith, Jesus prevails.

The Village School

I am the Rabbi Ben Israel,
Throughout this village known full well,
And, as my scholars all will tell,
  Learned in things divine;
The Cabala and Talmud hoar
Than all the prophets prize I more,
For water is all Bible lore,
  But Mishna is strong wine.

My fame extends from West to East,
And always, at the Purim feast,
I am as drunk as any beast
  That wallows in his sty;
The wine it so elateth me,
That I no difference can see
Between "Accursed Haman be!"
  And "Blessed be Mordecai!"

Come hither, Judas Iscariot;
Say, if thy lesson thou hast got

[53] Arvin, *Longfellow*, 86.
[54] Arvin. The story is based on a 13th century version of a German legend about the Emperor Henry II, by Hartmann von Aue, *Der Arme Heinrich*. Arvin, 86, Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 235.

From the Rabbinical Book or not.
  Why howl the dogs at night?

JUDAS.

In the Rabbinical Book, it saith
The dogs howl, when with icy breath
Great Sammael, the Angel of Death,
  Takes through the town his flight!

RABBI.

Well, boy! now say, if thou art wise,
When the Angel of Death, who is full of eyes,
Comes where a sick man dying lies,
  What doth he to the wight?

JUDAS.

He stands beside him, dark and tall,
Holding a sword, from which doth fall
Into his mouth a drop of gall,
  And so he turneth white.

RABBI.

And now, my Judas, say to me
What the great Voices Four may be,
That quite across the world do flee,
  And are not heard by men?

JUDAS.

The Voice of the Sun in heaven's dome,
The Voice of the Murmuring of Rome,
The Voice of a Soul that goeth home,
  And the Angel of the Rain!

RABBI.

Right are thine answers every one!
Now little Jesus, the carpenter's son,
Let us see how thy task is done;
  Canst thou thy letters say?

JESUS.

Aleph.

RABBI.

        What next? Do not stop yet!
Go on with all the alphabet.
Come, Aleph, Beth; dost thou forget?

JESUS.
What Aleph means I fain would know,
Before I any farther go!

RABBI.
Oh, by Saint Peter! wouldst thou so?
  Come hither, boy, to me.
As surely as the letter Jod
Once cried aloud, and spake to God,
So surely shalt thou feel this rod,
  And punished shalt thou be!

Here RABBI BEN ISRAEL *shall lift up his rod to strike* JESUS, *and his right arm shall be paralyzed.*

The first thing we notice, of course, is the teacher: Rabbi Ben ("son of," not "Benjamin") Israel. It is likely, although by no means certain, that Longfellow did not choose this name arbitrarily. Rabbi Nathan ben Israel is a character in *Ivanhoe*,[55] and Menasseh ben Israel was a famous 17th century rabbi and Bible scholar who, among other things, tried to convince Cromwell to permit Jews to resettle in England.[56] More importantly, for present purposes, John Peter Stehelin mentions

[55] Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*. The particular edition accessed for this paper is the 1877 edition by George Routledge and Sons, London, 319-320.
[56] See http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10345-manasseh-ben-israel, and also Yosef Kaplan, Henry Mechoulan, and Richard H. Popkin, eds. *Menasseh ben Israel and his World*, (The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1989). As part of this effort, Menasseh ben Israel wrote a pamphlet called, "The Hope of Israel," in which he tried to persuade his audience (the Puritans of New England) that the American Indians were the ten lost tribes of Israel. Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 25.

Menasseh ben Israel 23 times in his book, *Rabbinical Literature, or, The Traditions of the Jews*.[57]

Before we continue our discussion of "The Village School," we need to discuss briefly Stehelin's book, because it was the source of almost all of Longfellow's knowledge about Jewish customs and legends.[58] Stehelin's book is a translation of a

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[57] John Peter Stehelin, *Rabbinical Literature, or, The Traditions of the Jews*, (London: J. Robinson, 1748), 40-42, 68, 133-134, 238, 263-265, 270, 276, 278-279, 283, 286-287, 316, 319, 322, 325, 327, and 337. Two digitized copies of the Stehelin book are available at http://www.scribd.com/doc/54914506/The-traditions-of-the-Jews-Johann-Andreas-Eisenmenger-Stehelin-edition (the UCLA Library) and http://books.google.com/books?id=VY1DAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=snippet&q=ben%20israel&f=false (searchable). Note the UCLA version of Stehelin's book (as well as Longfellow's own copy, which I examined at the Craigie House) contain two "volumes," and the second "volume" commences again at page one. Thus, including the introduction, there are three sets of pages 1-64, and two sets of pages after 64. The searchable, on-line version is thus the best way to find quotations, but it contains only the introduction and volume one. There is a third, on-line version containing the entire book that is searchable, but the search capabilities are limited. https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=GHsQAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&authuser=0&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA12.

[58] Although Longfellow read German fluently, he owned a copy of Stehelin's book and it is full of marginal notes. Joyce Michel, "Longfellow Marginalia in Stehelin's *Rabbinical Literature or Traditions of the Jews* (1748)" 2013. Unpublished paper. Michel spent the summer as the 2013 Friends of Longfellow House Korzenik Fellow, and reviewed Longfellow's copy of Stehelin and catalogued all of Longfellow's marginal notes. These "notes" are not notes in the conventional sense, but are rather vertical, pencil lines in the margins alongside information that Longfellow found to be important. Michel notes that pages 277-338 of *Traditions of the Jews* is "largely based" on a work by Menasseh ben Israel (called *Nishmat Chaim*), and we can see ben Israel's name, for example, on page 278. Moreover, Michel observed Longfellow's pencil lines on many pages in between 282 and 332. The many iterations of ben Israel's name could well

late-17th century work by Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, called *Entdecktes Judenthum*, or Judaism Unmasked (the book that D'Israeli mentioned, see n. 46, above). A short biography of Eisenmenger and a description of his book are available in Heinrich Graetz and Max Raisin, *Popular History of the Jews* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Co. 1919), at 203ff., but for our purposes it suffices to say that Eisenmenger's work was anti-Jewish, but Stehelin's translation lowered the anti-Jewish stridency. Now we can return to "The Village School."

The first stanza mentions three works that even educated non-Jews might not have known: the Talmud, the "Cabala," and the "Mishna." Stehelin mentions the Talmud 100 times and the "Mishna" five times, and gives a brief description of both works on page two:

> We shall begin with some Account of the *Talmud;* a Book which, as the *Jews* pretend, contains the *Oral* Laws, and other Secrets, which God communicated to *Moses*. It consists of two principal Parts, each of which is divided into several Books. The first Part, which they call the *Mishna* [*sic*] . . . .[59]

Moreover, Longfellow's description of the Mishnah as "strong wine" also owes its origin to Stehelin: at page 39, in

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have been the source for Longfellow's character in "The Village School."

[59] The capitalization is as in the original, as is all capitalization of Stehelin in this paper.

a place that Longfellow marked,[60] Stehelin quotes Tractate Soferim's adage that "the Bible is like water, the Mishnah like wine." Finally, Stehelin mentions the "Cabala" 18 times, and provides an explanation of the work on page 144:

> We shall give some Account of the *Cabala*. The Word *Cabala*, which is Hebrew, signifies *Admission* or *Initiation*. The *Jews* appropriate this Word to the Knowledge or Comprehension of the Mysteries of the *Oral Law*; . . . .

Thus we see that from Stehelin, Longfellow acquired a list of Jewish works and a description, even if erroneous or even outlandish, of the nature of these books.

The next thing that we notice, in the second stanza, is the rabbi's description of his state of sobriety (or inebriety) at Purim: he is so drunk that he does not know the difference between "blessed be Mordechai" and "cursed by Haman." As it happens, BT Megillah 7b ordains that at Purim, a person should become so drunk that he can not discern the difference between these two phrases. There is no way to say with certainty what Longfellow knew about Judaism, but the likelihood is that he did not know this particular prescription. Stehelin, however, did.

At page 57, Stehelin wrote:

> *Holy Writ* threatens Woe upon excessive Drinking. *Woe unto them that are mighty to drink Wine &c.* The *Talmud*, on the Contrary, makes Drunkenness a Duty; at least, at one

[60] Michel, "Longfellow Marginalia."

> Season of the Year; according to the following Passage in the Talmud-Treatise, entitled *Megilla* "The Rabbins have said, a Man is obliged to get Drunk on the Feast of *Purim*; and so Drunk, that he cannot see the difference between "*Cursed* be Haman and *Blessed* be Mordechai."[61]

We know that Longfellow read this passage, because one of his marginal notes marks it.[62]

Immediately following this stanza is an exchange between Rabbi Ben Israel and Judas Iscariot, in which they discuss the significance of dogs howling in the night. Stehelin on pages 222-223 quotes a "Rabbi *Bechai*"[63] and a "*Menachem von Rekanet*"[64] both as describing the phenomenon of dogs howling when the angel of death enters a city.[65] Michel in her monograph "Longfellow Marginalia" does not note a marginal note by Longfellow on these pages, but it is certainly possible (indeed, probable) that Longfellow saw the reference there and employed it in the poem.

Immediately following this exchange between the rabbi and Judas, there is another one concerning the angel of death. Once again, we see that this story is found in Stehelin, this time at

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[61] Footnote 2 omitted.
[62] Michel, "Longfellow Marginalia."

[63] Probably Bahya ben Joseph Paquda, who lived in the latter half of the 12th century, was a paytan, and is most famous for a work (originally in Arabic) known in Hebrew as *Hovot Halevavot* (Duties of the Heart). *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House) vol. 4.
[64] I could find no biographical information about anybody by this name.
[65] The origin of this story is BT Baba Kama 60b.

225-226 (indeed, parts of the poem are direct quotations from Stehelin). Thus, Stehelin quotes,

> "In the Hour of a Man's departing the World, his being frighted by the Angel of Death, who is full of Eyes. And holdeth in his Hand a naked Sword . . . . When he (*the Angel of Death*) finds he (*the Dying*) has liv'd up to those Rules, he lets fall the Drop of Gall . . . ."[66]

Moreover, there is a different version of the angel of death story on page 224 of Stehelin, and part of it too was employed by Longfellow: "'a Drop (*of gall*) to fall into his Mouth; by Means of which he dies, and his Countenance become white . . . .'"[67] "Full of eyes," "sword," and "drop of gall" all appear in the poem. Lastly, we see that Longfellow specifically names the angel of death "Sammael," and Stehelin, on page 214 writes, "die, by the Angel of Death (that is, *Sammael*, who is particularly so named)."[68]

After this section of the poem, the rabbi and Judas have another exchange:

RABBI.

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[66] The origin of this story is BT Avodah Zarah 20b.

[67] Michel does not note a marginal note on page 224, either, but, again, the similarity between the poem and the book is too great to ignore.

[68] Michel notes a marginal note a few lines above this sentence, marking a different aspect of angels. It is possible that a well-educated Protestant of that era would know the names of various angels, but once again, the similarity between the language of the poem and the language of Stehelin probably indicates that Stehelin was the source of this language in the poem.

And now, my Judas, say to me
What the great Voices Four may be,
That quite across the world do flee,
  And are not heard by men?

JUDAS.
The Voice of the Sun in heaven's dome,
The Voice of the Murmuring of Rome,
The Voice of a Soul that goeth home,
  And the Angel of the Rain!

These images Longfellow took directly from Stehelin, who found them in BT Yoma 20b.

Thus, at 220, Stehelin says,

> Our Rabbins teach, that Three Voices pass from one End of the World to the other; namely, the Voice of the Globe of the Sun; the voice of the murmuring of *Rome*; and the Voice of the Soul, when she departeth the Body. . . . . Some say, likewise, the Voice of the Angel *Ridja*, who hath the management of Rain . . . .[69]

Moreover, the "great Voices four" that "are not heard by men" are also listed in Stehelin, at 228-229, although his source lists five such voices:

> In the Discourses of Rabbi *Eliezer*, there is the following Account: "there are five Things, the Voices of which pass from one End of the World unto the other, yet they are not heard.

[69] Michel notes a marginal note here.

Although Longfellow did not mark this passage,[70] the similarity between the passage and the poem plainly reflects the origin of the images.

What comes next is an discussion between the rabbi and Jesus. The topic is the alphabet.

Jesus is asked to recite the alphabet, but before he will recite past "aleph," he wants to know what "aleph" means. The rabbi's response invokes "the letter Jod/[which] Once cried aloud and spake to God." This passage reflects Stehelin's citation to "*Jalkut Schimoni*" (undoubtedly, *Yalkut Shimoni*[71]) on page 130. Once again, Michel does not note a marginal marking by Longfellow, but the similarity between the poem and Stehelin is too great to ignore.

THE JEWISH CEMETERY AT NEWPORT

In 1852, despite not knowing almost any actual Jews, Longfellow nevertheless wrote what Calhoun terms "one of the

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[70] Michel.

[71] *Yalkut Shimoni*, often known simply as *Yalkut*, is a midrashic anthology, probably from the 13th century. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 16. The reference is to a story, found in Gen. R. 47:1, about God's decision to change Sarai's name (which contained a yod) to Sarah (which did not contain a yod). The yod complained to God that it had been cheated simply because it was the smallest letter. God righted the wrong when Moses changed Hoshea's name (containing no yod) to Yehoshua (which contains a yod).

greatest American poems of the [19th] century,"[72] "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport." Longfellow's journal sets the scene:

> July 9, 1552. Went this morning into the Jewish burying ground with a polite old gentleman who keeps the key. There are few graves; nearly all are low tombstones of marble, with Hebrew inscriptions, and a few words added in English or Portuguese. At the foot of each, the letters S.A.G.D.G. [Su Alma Goci Divina Gloria: May his soul enjoy divine glory] It is a shady nook, at the corner of two dusty, frequented streets, with an iron fence and a granite gateway, erected at the expense of Mr. Touro, of New Orleans.[73]

The Jewish Cemetery at Newport

> How strange it seems! These Hebrews in
> their graves,
> Close by the street of this fair
> seaport town,
> Silent beside the never-silent waves,
> At rest in all this moving up and down!
>
> The trees are white with dust, that o'er
> their sleep
> Wave their broad curtains in the
> southwind's breath,
> While underneath these leafy tents they keep
> The long, mysterious Exodus of Death.
>
> And these sepulchral stones, so old
> and brown,
> That pave with level flags their
> burial-place,
> Seem like the tablets of the Law,

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[72] Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 199.

[73] The journal entry is quoted in *The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, With Bibliographical and Critical Notes* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin [Riverside Press] 1889 [six-volume edition], 33-34, n.62. The words of the motto and its translation are in the note, and can also be found in Packard, "Longfellow and the Jewish Cemetery at Newport."

thrown down
And broken by Moses at the mountain's base.

The very names recorded here are strange,
Of foreign accent, and of different climes;
Alvares and Rivera interchange
With Abraham and Jacob of old times.

"Blessed be God! for he created Death!"
The mourner said, "and Death is rest
and peace!"
Then added, in the certainty of faith,
"And giveth Life that nevermore
shall cease."

Closed are the portals of their Synagogue,
No Psalms of David now the silence break,
No Rabbi reads the ancient Decalogue
In the grand dialect the Prophets spake.

Gone are the living, but the dead remain,
And not neglected; for a hand unseen,
Scattering its bounty, like a summer rain,
Still keeps their graves and their
remembrance green.

How came they here? What burst of
Christian hate,
What persecution, merciless and blind,
Drove o'er the sea -that desert desolate -
These Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind?

They lived in narrow streets and
lanes obscure,
Ghetto and Judenstrass,[74] in mirk and mire;
Taught in the school of patience to endure
The life of anguish and the death of fire.

All their lives long, with the
unleavened bread
And bitter herbs of exile and its fears,
The wasting famine of the heart they fed,
And slaked its thirst with marah of their
tears.

[74] A shortening of Judestrasse, presumably for the sake of meter, by a poet who read, wrote, and spoke fluent German.

Anathema maranatha! was the cry
That rang from town to town, from street
     to street:
At every gate the accursed Mordecai
Was mocked and jeered, and spurned by
Christian feet.

Pride and humiliation hand in hand
Walked with them through the world where'er
     they went;
Trampled and beaten were they as the sand,
And yet unshaken as the continent.

For in the background figures vague and vast
Of patriarchs and of prophets rose sublime,
And all the great traditions of the Past
They saw reflected in the coming time.

And thus forever with reverted look
The mystic volume of the world they read,
Spelling it backward, like a Hebrew book,
Till life became a Legend of the Dead.

But ah! what once has been shall be no more!
The groaning earth in travail and in pain
Brings forth its races, but does not
restore,
And the dead nations never rise again.

What Longfellow meant by this poem is impossible to say. It is certain that these dead Jews meant something to Longfellow, else he would not have written the poem. Surely, too, he admired the Jewish People on some level, because his poetry contains many references to Jewish concepts that most people, even most educated people, did not know, and, as we shall see below, he chose a Jew to tell exotic tales in *Tales of a Wayside Inn*. Even professional analysts, however, are unsure

what Longfellow intended. As an example, we can examine Arvin's analysis of the poem.

Arvin notes that "this very old burying ground of Rhode Island Jews, adjoining a synagogue that had at that time fallen into disuse, becomes a focusing symbol for the long tragedy of the Jewish people . . . ."[75] As Packard observes, however, the cemetery does not in fact adjoin the synagogue, and although the synagogue was not in use when Longfellow wrote the poem, if Arvin means that the cemetery itself was in disrepair,[76] he is simply wrong: Longfellow's journal entry reflects the historical reality; two members of the Touro family, Abraham and Benjamin Touro, commissioned the restoration of the cemetery, and the work had been completed when Longfellow saw the site.[77] Thus, to the extent Arvin's analysis of the poem suggests that Longfellow paralleled the demise of the Jews and the physical deterioration of the cemetery, that analysis is simply wrong.

Longfellow's own errors, however, might well have misinformed his views about the Jews of Newport (and by extension, the Jews of the mid-19th century). For example, the reference to "Ghetto and Judenstrass" is misplaced. The Jews of Newport (or, at least, the Jews of Newport who were buried in

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[75] Arvin, *Longfellow*, 187.
[76] There is no mention in Longfellow's journal that he saw the synagogue.
[77] Packard, "Longfellow and the Jewish Cemetery"

the cemetery when Longfellow visited it) were Sephardim by way of the Netherlands, the Dutch West Indies, Curacao, or Portugal.[78] They never lived on a Judenstrasse and they never lived in a ghetto.

In addition, Longfellow has "the mourner" say, "Blessed be God! for he created Death!" in the fifth stanza. The Kaddish Yatom, the so-called Mourner's Kaddish, however, although it has long been the memorial prayer for the dead,[79] does not mention God at all. It is impossible to know whether Longfellow knew the Kaddish and its role in Jewish liturgy, but Stehelin does not mention it.

Lastly, Longfellow implies in the poem that the Jews of Newport were impelled by religious persecution to settle there. It is possible that Longfellow was using the dead, Newport Jews to represent the entire, Jewish people (and we will see below when we discuss *Tales of a Wayside Inn* that Longfellow well knew the tribulations of the the Jewish people), but if he was

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[78] Peter Wiernik, *History of the Jews in America, From the Period of the Discovery of the New World to the Present Time* (New York: Jewish Press Publishing Co. 1912), 72 ff.

[79] The Mourner's Kaddish has been recited, starting first in Germany, since at least 1220. See Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy, A Comprehensive History* (Philadelphia: JPS 1993 [trans. Raymond P. Scheindlin], 82.

considering only the Jews of Newport, he was wrong: they came for the economic opportunities in a seaport in a new country.[80]

What did Longfellow intend? Writing in *Rhode Island History* in 1961, Ely Strock observes that the poem "captures, in a minor key, the sadness of Jewish history."[81] Strock opines that the phrase, "Exodus of Death" (the last three words of the second stanza) sets the two themes of the poem: exodus, and death.[82]

Strock suggests that exodus and death were indeed the appropriate themes for the Jews of Newport, because at the time of Longfellow's visit not one living Jew remained in the city. The members of the families named on the tombstones, Lopez, Hays, Touro, had all gone, to return only to be buried.[83] Indeed, the "hand unseen" in the seventh stanza is the hand of Judah Touro, the agent of God: Touro bequeathed $10,000 to the cemetery for its upkeep.[84]

Strock sees Longfellow as stressing the sad (or negative) experiences in Jewish history. The paving stones in the cemetery are likened to the fragments of the tablets that Moses

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[80] Wiernik, 73-74. It is possible similarly that when Longfellow invokes the ghetto and the Judenstrasse he is using the dead Jews of Newport to represent the entire, Jewish people.
[81] Ely Strock, "Longfellow's 'The Jewish Cemetery at Newport,'" *Rhode Island History*, vol.20, no. 3 (July, 1961), 83.
[82] Strock, 83.
[83] Strock, 83.
[84] Strock 83-84.

broke when he descended the mountain the first time. Mordechai is portrayed not as triumphant after the Jews defeated Haman's minions, but as jeered.[85] The separation of the Jews from the societies in which the Jews lived ("Ghetto and Judenstrass") and the phrase "Anathema maranatha" were used to convey excommunication. Strock, however, believed that Longfellow viewed this separation as self-imposed, and Longfellow's employment of "Anathema maranatha" was the proof: quoting I Corinthians 16:22, Strock notes that the phrase was originally used in the context of people who willingly separated themselves from Christ.[86]

Strock, moreover, emphasizes Longfellow's reference to the "reverted look" of the Jews, who "spell[life] backward, like a Hebrew book." Essentially, Strock believes that Longfellow envisioned the Jews as having gone from a vibrant culture to a moribund one.[87]

It is the last verse, however, that leaves us to wonder whether Longfellow was eulogizing a dead people, or condemning the world's treatment of the Jews (or both). Longfellow

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[85] We have already seen in our examination of "The Village School" Longfellow's understanding that Mordechai was to be blessed; surely Longfellow knew Mordechai's role in the Esther story. This inconsistency between two visions of Mordechai in two poems that were written only a year apart is difficult to explain.

[86] Strock, 85-86, especially n.3 and surrounding text.

[87] Strock, 85-86.

obviously knew that the Jews were not extinct. We can only conclude, therefore, that Longfellow saw even contemporary Jews as living life backwards, from right to left instead of left to right.

The poem as published, however, lacked verses that Longfellow penned but did not use (and the fact that they are here placed in a sequence does not mean that Longfellow wrote them that way):[88]

> Ah, long they wandered over land and wave,
> The world around them but a waste of sand;
> And only from the hillock of the grave,
> With dying eyes beheld the Promised Land.
>
> A sword still bars the gate of rest
> and peace;
> A foot still breks and grinds them
> Like the grain!
> A voice still speaks the doom, that
> Ne'er shall cease;
> A hand still point to the deep mark
> Of Cain!
>
> Is there no hope? No end of all
> their wrongs?
> No rest -- no Truce of God to
> Intervene,
> For those who gave the world its
> noblest songs,
> The only perfect man this world
> hath seen?[89]
>
> But here at length the Truce of
> God prevailed;
> The oppression and the contumely ceased,
> No more were they molested, nor assailed
> By royal tax or malison of priest.

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[88] Appel, "Longfellow's Presentation of the Spanish Jews." 27.
[89] Probably a reference to Jesus.

These verses, however, are a bundle of contradictions.

For example, the poem as published seems to honor a race, or ethnicity, or people that (or whom) Longfellow seems to have admired ("Trampled and beaten were they as the sand/And yet unshaken as the continent"). Moreover, Longfellow apparently recognized that it was the Christian world that largely tormented the Jews. ("At every gate the accursed Mordecai/Was mocked and jeered, and spurned by Christian feet"). Nevertheless, in the omitted stanzas, Longfellow painted the Jews as the source of the "perfect man" whose very followers plagued the Jews since the death of that "perfect man." Perhaps Longfellow saw the inherent contradiction.

Similarly, there is an inherent contradiction between the omitted verse that begins, "A sword still bars the gate," and the verse that begins, "But here at length the Truce of God." On the one hand, Longfellow was proposing that the world has stopped persecuting the Jews, and on the other hand, Longfellow was proposing that persecution continued in Longfellow's time.

Many reasons impel a writer to omit or include words, sentences, paragraphs, or even chapters in a final work, so without memorializations of Longfellow's thinking (and there is none), we can not know why he selected the final version for publication. The omitted verses plainly show Longfellow's

sympathy for the Jews, but perhaps he recognized the internal inconsistencies of the drafted, but omitted, verses.

The poem moved Emma Lazarus to respond, in 1867. She wrote a poem called, "In the Jewish Synagogue at Newport," in which she reaches the opposite conclusion from Longfellow.

In the Jewish Synagogue at Newport

Here, where the noises of the busy town,
The ocean's plunge and roar can enter not,
We stand and gaze around with tearful awe,
And muse upon the consecrated spot.

No signs of life are here: the very prayers
Inscribed around are in a language dead;
The light of the "perpetual lamp" is spent
That an undying radiance was to shed.

What prayers were in this temple
     offered up,
Wrung from sad hearts that knew no
     joy on earth,
By these lone exiles of a thousand years,
From the fair sunrise land that gave
     them birth!

Now as we gaze, in this new world of light,
Upon this relic of the days of old,
The present vanishes, and tropic bloom
And Eastern towns and temples we behold.

Again we see the patriarch with his flocks,
The purple seas, the hot blue sky o'erhead,
The slaves of Egypt—omens, mysteries—
Dark fleeing hosts by flaming angels led.

A wondrous light upon a sky-kissed mount,
A man who reads Jehovah's written law,
'Midst blinding glory and effulhence rare,
Unto a people probe with reverent awe.
The pride of luxury's barbaric pomp,
In the rich court of royal Solomon—

Alas! we wake: one scene alone remains—
The exiles by the streams of Babylon.

Our softened voices send us back again
But mournful echoes through the empty hall;
Our footsteps have a strange,
     unnatural sound,
And with unwonted gentleness they fall.

The weary ones, the sad, the suffering,
All found their comfort in the holy place,
And children's gladness and men's gratitude
Took voice and mingled in the chant
     of praise.

The funeral and the marriage, now, alas!
We know not which is sadder to recall;
For youth and happiness have followed age,
And green grass lieth gently over all.

And still the sacred shrine is holy yet,
With its lone floors where reverent feet
     once trod.
Take off your shoes as by the burning bush,
Before the mystery of death and God.

Lazarus sees not an extinct race, destined never to be reborn, but rather a future for the synagogue at Newport, which is holy ground and "holy yet."[90] Lazarus sees not Longfellow's broken tablets and jeered Mordechai, but sees rather the glories of her people's past, believing that they will be experienced

[90] The reference in the penultimate line of the poem is to Exodus 3:5: "Remove your sandals from your feet, for the place on which you stand is holy ground." (JPS). This paper does not have the space for a detailed comparison of the two poems, but we need to note the almost immediate difference in tone. Longfellow's poem emphasizes the silence, and Lazarus' poem emphasizes the noise. Of course, the biggest difference is that Longfellow depicted a cemetery, and Lazarus depicted a house of worship, a difference between the dead and the living.

once again.[91] Indeed, eulogizing Longfellow at a memorial hosted by the Young Men's Hebrew Association on April 8, 1882, Lazarus said that

> not only was [Longfellow] without the eyes of the seer, to penetrate the well of the future, but equally without the active energy or the passionate enthusiasm of an inspired champion in the arena of the present.[92]

It is a fair question, then, to ask whether Longfellow was antisemitic. After all, within the next three years, in *The Song of Hiawatha*, he penned these lines in part XXII, "Hiawatha's Departure:"

> Then the Black-Robe chief, the Prophet,
> Told his message to the people,
> Told the purport of his mission,
> Told them of the Virgin Mary,
> And her blessed Son, the Saviour [*sic*],
> How in distant lands and ages
> He had lived on earth as we do;
> How he [*sic*] fasted, prayed, and labored;
> How the Jews, the tribe accursed,
> Mocked him, scourged him, crucified him.[93]

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[91] Jules Chametzky, John Felstiner, Hilene Flanzbaum, and Kathryn Hellerstein, *Jewish American Literature: A Norton Anthology* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001),102.

[92] Jeffrey Einboden, *Nineteenth Century US Literature in Middle Eastern Languages* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 23. Lazarus continued, criticizing Longfellow because his writings, although they depicted Jews tenderly, completely failed to address the problems of contemporary Jews, such as pogroms and other, almost-daily forms of persecution. 24.

[93] Note that this language ("the Jews, the tribe accursed,/Mocked him") is very similar to the language in "The Jewish Cemetery: "At every gate the accursed Mordecai/Was mocked."

The short is answer is, "No," but we shall defer a longer discussion until later in this paper.

SANDALPHON

Longfellow did not insert a Jewish reference into a poem for another two years. Then, one day late in 1857, Longfellow's friend Emanuel (Arvin spells the name "Emmanuel" at 136) Vitalis Scherb[94] was reading excerpts from a book called *Kritische Geschichte des Chilasmus*, by Heinrich Corrodi.[95] On November 11,

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[94] Scherb, whom Arvin calls German, at 136, and whom Solomon Liptzin, *The Jew in American Literature* (New York: Block, 1966), 40, terms a "Jewish intellectual," was a Swiss émigré from Basel who tried to (and did) teach German at universities in the United States. Scherb's name could be taken to imply Jewish roots (where "Vitalis" could be Latin for "Hayyim," the Hebrew word for life [I am indebted to Joyce Michel for this observation]), but his obituary on August 18, 1865 on page three of the "Liberator" states that he was "educated for the ministry" but after completing his education became, essentially, a revolutionary and fled to the United States. http://www.newspapers.com/newspage/32254056/.

[95] Heinrich Corrodi, *Kritische Geschichte des Chilasmus* (Frankfurt und Liepzig 1782 [digitized versions of the book are available at many locations; one is http://archive.org/stream/kritischegeschi01corrgoog#page/n8/mode/2up]), 336. The English translation of the title of the book is A Critical History of Millenarianism, where "Chilasmus" is derived from the Greek word for "thousand." Millenarianism, which was a popular movement in 18th-century Germany, is related to the thousand-year Kingdom that is described in Revelation 20:4: a thousand-year peace under Christ before the end of days. Corrodi (1752-1793), a minister who became an academic and throughout his life opposed mysticism and orthodoxy (*A Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature* [3d ed.] [Philadelphia: J.B. Lipincott, 1865], 564), from the beginning of his book emphasized his view that millenarianism is religious fanaticism "based on 'deceptions' and 'fallacies' that offered 'rich material for amusement,' and saw his task as

1857, Longfellow noted in his journal, "Monday 2 . . . . Evening Scherb read to me some curious Talmudic legends from Corrodi's "Kritische Geschichte des Chilasmus"; of the great Angel Sandalphon, and . . . ."[96] The result was the poem, "Sandalphon," completed early in 1858: "January 18, 1858. Finished the poem 'Sandalphon,' a strange legend from the Talmud of the Angel of Prayer."[97]

Corrodi was referencing a passage from BT Hagigah 13b:

> Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel at the bottom hard by the living creatures. R. Eleazar said: [It means] a certain angel, who stands on the earth and his head reaches unto the living creatures. In a Baraitha it is taught: His name is Sandalfon; he is higher than his fellows by a [distance of] five hundred years' journey, and he stands behind the Chariot and wreathes crowns for his Maker. But is it so? Behold it is written: Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His place,' accordingly, no one knows His place! — He

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'presenting all these types of religious enthusiasm in a negative light." Klaus Vondung, *The Apocalypse in Germany* (Columbia, Mo: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 22-23.

[96] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Papers (MS 1340), Houghton Library, Harvard University. I found Longfellow's handwriting to be in many cases (and this case was one such) indecipherable. Fortunately, by the time I read the journals, I had already discovered a posting on the Internet that named Corrodi's book correctly, and even provided the precise page that Scherb had read: "Sandalphon by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1858)," by the Open Siddur Project. In addition, the Corrodi reference appears in Appel, "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Presentation of the Spanish Jew," 28-29.

[97] Journal entry. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Papers (MS 1340), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

> pronounces the [Divine] Name over the crown, and it goes and rests on His head.[98]

Stehelin included a version of this passage in his book:

> "The Prophet *Elias* is the Angel *Sandelfon* [*sic*], who twisteth or bindeth Garlands out of the prayers for his Lord."[99]

In addition, Stehelin referenced the immense height of Sandalphon:

> This Angel is said to be as tall as *Metatron*, for in the great *Jalkut Rubeni* in the *Parasha Mishpatim*, it is thus written about him: "I have seen *Sandalfon*, who exceedeth the Angel *Hadarniel* as much in Height, as one may walk in 500 Years. * * * It is taught in the *Mishna*, that he is called *Sandalfon;* he exceedeth his Companions as much in Height as one can walk in 500 Years, and that he stands behind the Chariot . . . .[100]

Also in Stehelin, at 73-74,[101] we find:

> "The Holy and Blessed God creates every Day a Multitude of Angels, and they say an Hymn; except *Michael* and *Gabriel*, and the Princes of the Chariot, and the *Metatron*, and *Sandalfon*, and their Equals, who are not created again, but remain in their Glory wherewith they were invested in the Six Days

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[98] From the *Soncino* translation, available on-line at http://halakhah.com/.

[99] Stehelin, *The Traditions of the Jews*, 97. Page 98 also contains a reference to twisting and binding garlands. Michel, "Longfellow Marginalia," notes a marginal line in Longfellow's copy on 97, but she does not note a marginal line on 98.

[100] Stehelin, 97-98.

[101] Michel catalogues a marginal note here, in Longfellow's copy.

> Creation of the World, and their Names are
> never changed . . . .[102]

We also find, 73, "'There are daily created out of the River *Dinur* ministering Angels, they sing a Hymn, and thereupon perish."[103] Finally, once again on 97, Stehelin, in the context of Metatron and Sandalphon, mentions "'a Ladder, which *Jacob* did see in a Dream."[104]

Sandalphon

> Have you read in the Talmud of old,
> In the Legends the Rabbins[105] have told
> Of the limitless realms of the air,--
> Have you read it,--the marvellous story
> Of Sandalphon, the Angel of Glory,
> Sandalphon, the Angel of Prayer?
>
> How, erect, at the outermost gates
> Of the City Celestial he waits,
> With his feet on the ladder of light,
> That, crowded with angels unnumbered,
> By Jacob was seen, as he slumbered
> Alone in the desert at night?
>
> The Angels of Wind and of Fire
> Chant only one hymn, and expire
> With the song's irresistible stress;
> Expire in their rapture and wonder,

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[102] Michel observes a marginal note at the beginning of this quotation in Longfellow's copy.
[103] Michel finds a marginal note here in Longfellow's copy. The reference in Stehelin is to BT Hagigah 14a: "Every day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream, and utter song, and cease to be." Soncino trans.
[104] Michel marks a marginal note here, in Longfellow's copy.
[105] "Rabbin" is a common spelling for "rabbi" in Stehelin (29, for example), and it is also used in, for example, Morin, *Les Sources*, 540. As I already noted, D'Israeli used the spelling. See n.42, above. Arvin observes that Longfellow "seems to have disliked concealing" the origins of his poems. *Longfellow*, 186.

As harp-strings are broken asunder
  By music they throb to express.

But serene in the rapturous throng,
Unmoved by the rush of the song,
  With eyes unimpassioned and slow,
Among the dead angels, the deathless
Sandalphon stands listening breathless
  To sounds that ascend from below;--

From the spirits on earth that adore,
From the souls that entreat and implore
  In the fervor and passion of prayer;
From the hearts that are broken with losses,
And weary with dragging the crosses
  Too heavy for mortals to bear.[106]

And he gathers the prayers as he stands,
And they change into flowers in his hands,
  Into garlands of purple and red;
And beneath the great arch of the portal,
Through the streets of the City Immortal
  Is wafted the fragrance they shed.

It is but a legend, I know,--
A fable, a phantom, a show,
  Of the ancient Rabbinical lore;
Yet the old mediaeval tradition,
The beautiful, strange superstition,
  But haunts me and holds me the more.

When I look from my window at night,
And the welkin above is all white,
  All throbbing and panting with stars,
Among them majestic is standing
Sandalphon the angel, expanding
  His pinions in nebulous bars.

And the legend, I feel, is a part
Of the hunger and thirst of the heart,
  The frenzy and fire of the brain,
That grasps at the fruitage forbidden,
The golden pomegranates of Eden,
  To quiet its fever and pain.

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[106] An interesting insertion of a Christian image into a Talmud-derived theme.

Longfellow used many of Stehelin's images in the poem. For example, in the first stanza Sandalphon is called the "Angel of Glory," and in the fourth stanza, Sandalphon, "deathless," is contrasted with the "dead angels." Compare stanza six of "Sandalphon," ("And he gathers the prayers as he stands,/And they change into flowers in his hands,/Into garlands . . . .") with pages 97-98 of Stehelin. Jacob's ladder is an image that Longfellow surely knew as well as any educated Protestant in New England, but in "Sandalphon," the ladder is the base on which Sandalphon stands, "erect, at the outermost gate," thus (in combination with "the great arch of the portal" in stanza six) conjuring Stehelin's quotations about Sandalphon's great height. In stanza three, "The Angels of Wind and Fire/Chant only one hymn, and expire," is a direct borrowing from Stehelin's "sing a Hymn, and thereupon perish," at 73. Thus we see that the Talmud, by way of Stehelin and Corrodi, became the basis for a Longfellow's poem about an angel.

TALES OF A WAYSIDE INN

The last poem, or series of poems, that we need to examine are noteworthy not for Jewish themes, but rather because they are told by a Jew. These poems are the four Spanish Jew's tales in *Tales of a Wayside Inn*.

The town of Sudbury is about 20 miles west of Boston. In 1638, John Howe settled in what is now Sudbury, and his son Samuel (probably) was the first landlord of the inn on the Howe property that opened in 1686.[107] Without interruption, but with some name changes, the inn has operated ever since, making it the oldest continuously operating inn in the United States. Samuel's son David, David's son Ezekiel, Ezekiel's son Adam, and Adam's son Lyman all operated the inn until 1861, when Lyman died. Ezekiel was the first landlord to formalize the name, "Red Horse Tavern," when in 1746 he erected a sign, "Sign of the Red Horse." After Lyman died, relatives operated the inn as a catering hall and inn, but not for overnight accommodation.[108] In 1892, a man named Edward Rivers Lemon purchased the inn and renamed it Longfellow's Wayside Inn.[109] In 1923, Henry Ford bought the inn, and with Ford's death the inn was managed by a trust.[110] Since 1960, the inn has been privately managed, but it remains a full-service inn, with a restaurant and rooms for lodging.[111]

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[107] The information in this paragraph, unless noted otherwise, is from John van Schaick, Jr., *The Characters in Tales of a Wayside Inn* (Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1939), 4ff. The official web site of the Wayside Inn, http://www.wayside.org/, incidentally, states that David Howe opened the tavern in 1716, calling it Howe's Tavern.
[108] Wayside.org.
[109] Wayside.org.
[110] Wayside.org.
[111] Wayside.org.

Longfellow patronized the inn, and used the setting for *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, a *Canterbury Tales*-like collection of stories told by patrons of the inn to each other. The models for the tale-tellers were Lyman Howe (the Landlord), Henry Ware Wales (the Student), Luigi Monti (the Young Sicilian), Ole Bull (the Musician), Daniel Treadwell (the Theologian), and Thomas W. Parsons (the Poet), all of whom Longfellow knew. Finally, there was the Spanish Jew.

Why Longfellow enlisted a Spanish Jew (who, as we will discover, was not at all a Spanish Jew but might have been descended from Spanish Jews) is unclear. Appel suggests that Longfellow

> presented the Spanish Jews largely as literary symbols recalling for the reader the role of the Jews as the transmitters of Oriental culture to the West and, more specifically, as a link connecting Spanish with American culture.[112]

As we shall see, Longfellow certainly showed an affinity for Spain and things Spanish. Although there were certainly no Jews in Spain when Longfellow traveled there, the Jews before their expulsion in 1492 had been contributors to the culture of the Iberian Peninsula, as Longfellow was aware.

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[112] Appel, "Presentation of the Spanish Jews," 21.

Thus, as early as 1829, while in Dresden, Longfellow read a Spanish book entitled *Cancionero General*.[113] The *Cancionero* is a mid-15th century anthology of court poetry that was collected by Alfonso de Buena, a Jewish secretary to King John II of Castille.[114] In 1845, Longfellow edited an anthology of European poets called *The Poets and Poetry of Europe*,[115] and de Buena is mentioned and identified as a "Spanish Jew" within the first ten words of the preface, v, which Longfellow wrote.[116]

Longfellow had two years earlier written a play called *The Spanish Student*, the plot of which Calhoun labels "creaky, with enough romantic students, Spanish hidalgos, and gypsy brigands to fill several light opera libretti."[117] Moreover, ten years earlier, in 1835, Longfellow had written the first of his rare, prose works, *Outre-Mer*, an account of his first trip to

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[113] Journal entry of February 4, 1829, quoted in Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company [Riverside Press] 1891), 164.
[114] Appel, 22. An alternative spelling is "Baena."
[115] The version that I used was the 1871 edition published by Porter and Coates in Philadelphia, and is available on-line at http://books.google.com/books?id=Wn04AAAAIAAJ&pg=PA510&lpg=PA510&dq=the+poets+and+poetry+of+europe&source=bl&ots=U29ZbNLuFH&sig=gPvFPEx3oxW0eTVpVGZIens57nA&hl=en&sa=X&ei=EDZ2Uqv1DtXLsQSf8YCABw&ved=0CCsQ6AEwADgK#v=snippet&q=cancionero&f=false.
[116] De Buena was actually a convert to Catholicism, or perhaps a Marrano (who hid his Judaism behind a Catholic façade). See John A. Crow, *An Anthology of Spanish Poetry* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1979) xxx.
[117] Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 179.

Europe.[118] Among the chapters about his adventures in Spain are "Ancient Spanish Ballads" and "The Devotional Poetry of Spain." In the chapter, "The Village of El Pardillo," Longfellow recounts a story of a lawyer who tried to summon the devil, and was burned by the Inquisition for his efforts; in his confession, the lawyer says that he learned the secret from a Jew. 235-236.

Moroever, Longfellow knew (whether from his visits to Spain or from a formal study of Spanish history) the role that the Moors played in the history of Spain. For example, "The Village of El Pardillo" involves a Moorish castle, and in "Ancient Spanish Ballads" Longfellow wrote, "The seven centuries of the Moorish sovereignty in Spain are the heroic ages of her history and poetry" (203), and at 218-223 he collected and described some of the ancient, Moorish ballads.

We see then that Longfellow saw Spain as exotic, and may have wanted what he perceived to be a very exotic character as one of his tale-tellers. There is also a possibility, one that we will discuss below, that Longfellow saw the Jew as the "transmitter," in Appel's word, of Eastern culture. As Appel wrote,

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[118] The version that I used was published in 1883 in Boston by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, and is available on-line at http://books.google.com/books?id=mCs_AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=outre-mer+longfellow&hl=en&sa=X&ei=CDl2UtCuOIivsATry4DgBA&ved=0CC8Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=buena&f=false.

> Longfellow's use of the Spanish Jew "as a Spaniard symbolized America's heritage from the Romance Language; as a Jew he represented the 'dual role of Spain' as transmitter of 'oriental culture to the West.'"[119]

We will revisit this idea below, and offer in the Conclusion some reasons why Longfellow might have chosen a Jew instead of a representative of some other exotic, ethnic group.

Longfellow knew the models for his tale-tellers well, except the Spanish Jew. Isaac Edrehi is widely accepted to be the model for the Spanish Jew,[120] but there is no evidence that Longfellow met Edrehi more than once, in 1845.[121] Before we examine the Spanish Jew's four tales, we should review very briefly the life of isaac Edrehi.

Joyce Michel on March 3, 2013, gave an extremely thorough presentation about the life of Isaac Edrehi to the Sudbury Historical Society.[122] For present purposes, it is enough to say that Edrehi's father, Moses Edrehi, was a Moroccan scholar who was born in 1774. He arrived in London in 1791 and moved to

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[119] Appel, "Presentation of the Spanish Jews," 21.
[120] Arvin, *Longfellow*, 208 n., Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 232-233, van Schaick, *The Characters*, 37ff., Harap, *The Image of the Jew*, 94ff., J.N. McIlwraith, *A Book About Longfellow* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1900) 89.
[121] See n. 51, above, and surrounding text.
[122] "Isaac Edrehi: *the Spanish* Jew." A video record of that presentation is available at http://sudbury01776.org/vidprograms.html or http://sudburytv.pegcentral.com/player.php?video=f25eb0f2b12f8fc61c3464423098675c.

Amsterdam in 1802,[123] where Isaac was born in 1811. After some legal problems, Isaac came to the United States, where he lived, among other places, in Boston. (He also lived in New York, and died in Philadelphia.) He sold amulets and tried to raise money to republish his father's principle work, *Ma'aseh Nissim* (Tales of the Ten Tribes), which he eventually did by essentially republishing an already existing English translation. It is fair to say that Isaac was a fraud and a charlatan, but he dressed flamboyantly (see the appended pictures [the Getty image is the one included in von Schaick's book]) and evidently greatly impressed Longfellow when they met:[124] "all the characters [in the *Tales*] are real. . . . the Spanish Jew, Israel [*sic*] Edrehi, whom I have seen as I have painted him."[125] Undoubtedly, Isaac Edrehi's garb was part of Longfellow's view of the Jew as an exotic "transmitter[] of Oriental culture to the West."[126]

An interesting, and perhaps unexplainable, fact about the characters in the *Tales* is that none of them is mentioned by

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[123] *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol.6.
[124] As we know from Longfellow's letters and journal entries, he had seen at least a few Jews of both sexes during his European travels, and certainly knew that Isaac Edrehi's mode of dress was not the mode of the European Jew.
[125] Hilen, *Letters*, no. 2087, to Frances Farraer, December 28, 1863. Hilen notes that "Longfellow mistakenly wrote Israel for Isaac," referencing letter no. 866 (n. 50, above), and his own footnote to that letter.
[126] Appel, "Longfellow's Presentation," 21.

name, except Isaac Edrehi, who three times in the course of the three volumes of the *Tales* is named as "Edrehi."[127] Moreover, the Spanish Jew tells more tales than the any of the other tale-tellers. Let us examine, then, the Spanish Jew's tales.

PRELUDE, INTERLUDE, AND THE TALE OF RABBBI BEN LEVI, PART I

The first volume of the book begins with a Prelude, in which the inn and the characters are introduced. We met Isaac Edrehi this way:

> With aspect grand and grave was there;
> Vender of silks and fabrics rare,
> And attar of rose from the Levant.
> Like an old Patriarch he appeared,
> Abraham or Isaac, or at least

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[127] Edrehi is mentioned first by name in the Prelude to the second part of the *Tales*:

> The breakfast ended, each pursued
> The promptings of his various mood;
> Beside the fire in silence smoked The
> taciturn, impassive Jew,
> Lost in a pleasant revery;
> While, by his gravity provoked,
> His portrait the Sicilian drew,
> And wrote beneath it "Edrehi,
> At the Red Horse in Sudbury."

The second time Edrehi is mentioned by name is in the Interlude after the Sicilian relates, in part two, "The Bell of Atri." The Sicilian cries, "Wake from your dreams, O Edrehi!" and the Spanish Jew's second tale follows. Finally, Edrehi is mentioned by name in the Interlude after the Spanish Jew's third tale, the first in part three, when the Sicilian says, "O Edrehi, forbear to-night/Your ghostly legends of affright,/and let the Talmud rest in peace . . . ."

Some later Prophet or High-Priest;
With lustrous eyes, and olive skin,
And, wildly tossed from cheeks and chin,
The tumbling cataract of his beard.
His garments breathed a spicy scent
Of cinnamon and sandal blent,
Like the soft aromatic gales
That meet the mariner, who sails
Through the Moluccas, and the seas
That wash the shores of Celebes.
All stories that recorded are
By Pierre Alphonse he knew by heart,
And it was rumored he could say
The Parables of Sandabar,
And all the Fables of Pilpay,
Or if not all, the greater part!
Well versed was he in Hebrew books,
Talmud and Targum, and the lore
Of Kabala; and evermore
There was a mystery in his looks;
His eyes seemed gazing far away,
As if in vision or in trance
He heard the solemn sackbut play,
And saw the Jewish maidens dance.

Certainly, the opening description of the Spanish Jew's clothes resembles the pictures of Isaac Edrehi that have survived.

When we more closely examine this introduction, however, we see some anomalies. We have already seen that Longfellow had read the *Cancionero General*, a book of poems that were collected by a man whom Longfellow labeled a Spanish Jew (although he might have been a convert or a Marrano). Yet, Longfellow has the Spanish Jew of his *Tales* knowing by rote not the stories that were assembled by a the man Longfellow describes as a Jew, but rather the stories of Pierre Alphonse. Alphonse was a Jewish physician to King Alfonso VI of Castille in the late 11th

and early 12th centuries, but he converted to Catholicism and took the name Petrus Alfonsi. Although he did compose 34 tales that tell us much about medieval folklore, after he converted he composed arguments against Judaism.[128] Alphonse is thus a strange choice of role models for the Spanish Jew.[129]

On the other hand, the Spanish Jew knew the Parables of Sandabar, which are Arabian legends that were compiled around a century before the common era, and the oldest version extant of these Parables is in Hebrew.[130] The Fables of Pilpay, moreover, are Indian stories that were at some point translated into Arabic.[131] A Jew living in Spain at the time of the Moors might well have known these legends. Finally, Longfellow's Spanish Jew is "well versed" in Hebrew works, specifically the Talmud and the Targum, but the Talmud is as much Aramaic as Hebrew, and the Targum specifically means the Targum of Onkelos, which is in

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[128] *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol.13. Whether this choice of Spanish folklorists whom the Spanish Jew knew tells us something about Longfellow's views of Jews, and in particular whether he was antisemitic, we will discuss below.

[129] Although both compilers converted to Catholicism, they did so under vastly different conditions. In the 11th and 12th centuries, it was fairly safe to be a Jew in Catholic Spain; in the middle of the 15th century, it was not. Thus, de Buena is arguably "more Jewish" than Alphonse.

[130] Miguel De Cervantes Saavedra, *The History of Don Quixote of La Mancha* (London: J.C. Nimmo and Bain, 1881) (ed. and with notes by John G. Lockhart) 388.

[131] Thomas Warton, *History of English Poetry From the Twelfth to the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871) 133.

Aramaic. Longfellow may not have known the difference, or he may have used the word "Hebrew" to mean "Jewish."

The Spanish Jew tells the third tale in the first volume, but between the Student's tale and the Spanish Jew's tale is an Interlude, and the last paragraph of the Interlude sets the scene for the Spanish Jew's tale:

> Then a long pause; till some one said,
> "An Angel is flying overhead!"
> At these words spake the Spanish Jew,
> And murmured with an inward breath:
> "God grant, if what you say be true,
> It may not be the Angel of Death!"
> And then another pause; and then,
> Stroking his beard, he said again:
> "This brings back to my memory
> A story in the Talmud told,
> That book of gems, that book of gold,
> Of wonders many and manifold,
> A tale that often comes to me,
> And fills my heart, and haunts my brain,
> And never wearies nor grows old."

> THE SPANISH JEW'S TALE
> THE LEGEND OF RABBI BEN LEVI

> Rabbi Ben Levi, on the Sabbath, read
> A volume of the Law, in which it said,
> "No man shall look upon my face and live."
> And as he read, he prayed that God would
> give
> His faithful servant grace with mortal eye
> To look upon His face and yet not die.
> Then fell a sudden shadow on the page,
> And, lifting up his eyes, grown dim with age
> He saw the Angel of Death before him stand,
> Holding a naked sword in his right hand.
> Rabbi Ben Levi was a righteous man,
> Yet through his veins a chill of terror ran.
> With trembling voice he said, "What wilt

thou here?"
The angel answered, "Lo! the time draws near
When thou must die; yet first, by God's
decree,
Whate'er thou askest shall be granted thee."
Replied the Rabbi, "Let these living eyes
First look upon my place in Paradise."

Then said the Angel, "Come with me and
look."
Rabbi Ben Levi closed the sacred book,
And rising, and uplifting his gray head,
"Give me thy sword," he to the Angel said,
"Lest thou shouldst fall upon me by the
way."
The angel smiled and hastened to obey,
Then led him forth to the Celestial Town,
And set him on the wall, whence, gazing
down,
Rabbi Ben Levi, with his living eyes,
Might look upon his place in Paradise.

Then straight into the city of the Lord
The Rabbi leaped with the Death-Angel's
sword,
And through the streets there swept a sudden
breath
Of something there unknown, which men call
death.
Meanwhile the Angel stayed without and
cried,
"Come back!" To which the Rabbi's voice
replied,
"No! in the name of God, whom I adore,
I swear that hence I will depart no more!"

Then all the Angels cried, "O Holy One,
See what the son of Levi here hath done!
The kingdom of Heaven he takes by violence,
And in Thy name refuses to go hence!"
The Lord replied, "My Angels, be not wroth;
Did e'er the son of Levi break his oath?
Let him remain; for he with mortal eye
Shall look upon my face and yet not die."

Beyond the outer wall the Angel of Death
Heard the great voice, and said, with

panting breath,
"Give back the sword, and let me go my way."
Whereat the Rabbi paused, and answered,
"Nay!
Anguish enough already hath it caused
Among the sons of men." And while he paused
He heard the awful mandate of the Lord
Resounding through the air, "Give back the
sword!"

The Rabbi bowed his head in silent prayer;
Then said he to the dreadful Angel, "Swear,
No human eye shall look on it again;
But when thou takest away the souls of men,
Thyself unseen, and with an unseen sword,
Thou wilt perform the bidding of the Lord."
The Angel took the sword again, and swore,
And walks on earth unseen forevermore.

In BT Ketubot 77b, the germ of this tale is recorded:

> When [Rabbi Joshua ben Levi] was about to die the Angel of Death was instructed, "Go and carry out his wish." When he came and shewed himself to him the latter said, "Shew me my place [in Paradise]." — "Very well," he replied. "Give me your knife," the other demanded, "[since, otherwise], you may frighten me on the way." He gave it to him. On arriving there he lifted him up and shewed him [his place]. The latter jumped and dropped on the other side [of the wall]. He seized him by the corner of his cloak; but the other exclaimed, "I swear that I will not go back." Thereupon the Holy One, blessed be He, said, "If he ever had an oath of his annulled he must return; but if not, he need not return." "Return to me my knife," he said to him; but the other would not return it to him. A bath kol went forth and said to him, "Return the thing to him, for it is required for the mortals."[132]

[132] Soncino edition.

Stehelin mentions this passage, but relates the story from another source, *Kol bo*.[133] The account in Stehelin begins on page 220, marked by one of Longfellow's marginal notes,[134] and continues on pages 221 and 222. Plainly, Longfellow took his tale of Rabbi ben Levy from Stehelin.

INTERLUDE AND KAMBALU, PART II

The Spanish Jew makes his next appearance in the Prelude that begins the second volume of the *Tales*, as we saw in n. 129, above. Then, after the Sicilian's tale, the first tale in the second volume, there is an Interlude, in which the Sicilian requests (demands) another tale from the Jew.

> The Jew
> Made no reply, but only smiled,
> As men unto a wayward child,
> Not knowing what to answer, do.
> As from a cavern's mouth, o'ergrown
> With moss and intertangled vines,
> A streamlet leaps into the light
> And murmurs over root and stone
> In a melodious undertone;
> Or as amid the noonday night
> Of sombre and wind-haunted pines,
> There runs a sound as of the sea;
> So from his bearded lips there came
> A melody without a name,
> A song, a tale, a history,

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[133] *Kol bo* is an anonymous work of the late 13th or early 14th century. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol.10.
[134] Michel, "Longfellow Marginalia."

Or whatsoever it may be,
Writ and recorded in these lines.

What follows is the Spanish Jew's second tale, "Kambalu."

Into the city of Kambalu,
By the road that leadeth to Ispahan,
At the head of his dusty caravan,
Laden with treasure from realms afar,
Baldacca and Kelat and Kandahar,
Rode the great captain Alau.

The Khan from his palace-window gazed,
And saw in the thronging street beneath,
In the light of the setting sun, that blazed
Through the clouds of dust by the
caravan raised,
The flash of harness and jewelled sheath,
And the shining scimitars of the guard,
And the weary camels that bared their teeth,
As they passed and passed through the
gates unbarred
Into the shade of the palace-yard.

Thus into the city of Kambalu
Rode the great captain Alau;
And he stood before the Khan, and said:
"The enemies of my lord are dead;
All the Kalifs of all the West
Bow and obey thy least behest;
The plains are dark with the mulberry-trees,
The weavers are busy in Samarcand,
The miners are sifting the golden sand,
The divers plunging for pearls in the seas,
And peace and plenty are in the land.
"Baldacca's Kalif, and he alone,
Rose in revolt against thy throne:
His treasures are at thy palace-door,
With the swords and the shawls and the
jewels he wore;
His body is dust o'er the desert blown.

"A mile outside of Baldacca's gate
I left my forces to lie in wait,
Concealed by forests and hillocks of sand,
And forward dashed with a handful of men,
To lure the old tiger from his den

Into the ambush I had planned.
Ere we reached the town the alarm
was spread,
For we heard the sound of gongs from within;
And with clash of cymbals and warlike din
The gates swung wide; and we turned
and fled;
And the garrison sallied forth and pursued,
With the gray old Kalif at their head,
And above them the banner of Mohammed:
So we snared them all, and the town
was subdued.

"As in at the gate we rode, behold,
A tower that is called the Tower of Gold!
For there the Kalif had hidden his wealth,
Heaped and hoarded and piled on high,
Like sacks of wheat in a granary;
And thither the miser crept by stealth
To feel of the gold that gave him health,
And to gaze and gloat with his hungry eye
On jewels that gleamed like a
glow-worm's spark,
Or the eyes of a panther in the dark.

"I said to the Kalif: 'Thou art old,
Thou hast no need of so much gold.
Thou shouldst not have heaped and hidden
it here,
Till the breath of battle was hot and near,
But have sown through the land these
useless hoards
To spring into shining blades of swords,
And keep thine honor sweet and clear.
These grains of gold are not grains
of wheat;
These bars of silver thou canst not eat;
These jewels and pearls and precious stones
Cannot cure the aches in thy bones,
Nor keep the feet of Death one hour
From climbing the stairways of thy tower!'

"Then into his dungeon I locked the drone,
And left him to feed there all alone
In the honey-cells of his golden hive:
Never a prayer, nor a cry, nor a groan
Was heard from those massive walls of stone,

Nor again was the Kalif seen alive!

"When at last we unlocked the door,
We found him dead upon the floor;
The rings had dropped from his
withered hands,
His teeth were like bones in the
desert sands:
Still clutching his treasure he had died;
And as he lay there, he appeared
A statue of gold with a silver beard,
His arms outstretched as if crucified."

This is the story, strange and true,
That the great captain Alau
Told to his brother the Tartar Khan,
When he rode that day into Kambalu
By the road that leadeth to Ispahan.

Not only is there nothing Jewish about this tale, the Student's comment in the following Interlude about "Judah Rav" and the "Gemara of Babylon" notwithstanding; there is nothing Spanish about this tale.

Indeed, when originally published in 1864 in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the poem was called "The Khalif of Baldacca."[135] Moreover, Longfellow acknowledged that "Kambalu" owes its origins to a 13th century travelogue by the famous Venetian merchant, Marco Polo, "Il Millione di Marco Polo."[136] Commencing

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[135] *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1864, 664.

[136] Longfellow, *Poetical Works* (multi-volume Riverside Press edition), vol. IV, 339: "Page 149. Kambalu. [See Boni's edition of 'Il Milione di Marco Polo,' ii., 35, and i., 14]." The book, incidentally, was originally written in French in collaboration with Rustichello da Pisa. Regina F. Psak, "The Book's Two Fathers: Marco Polo, Rustichello da Pisa, and *Le Devisement du Monde*," in *Mediaevalia*, vol. 32, 69-97 (2011). In the introduction to this work, Polo explains how, in 1271, he

in 1267, Polo's Kambalu (spelled K-a-n-b-a-l-u 52 times in the English translation)[137] was the capital of China, the early name for Peking (or, today, Beijing), having been so designated by the Khans after the first Mongol conquest.[138]

Moreover, what permeate the poem are images of the exotic far east. The poem is about the adventures of khans and khalifs. Kelat and Kandahar (first stanza) are in present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan. "Samarcand" (today, Samarkand, third stanza) is in present-day Uzbekistan. "Ispahan" (today, Isfahan, the last word of the poem) is in present-day Iran. The mention of "desert sands" (seventh stanza) would have suggested to Longfellow's American (and British) readers the Sahara, the Arabian Peninsula, or, if they were better read, the Gobi Desert. The action takes place in China. An ambush is planned "to lure the old tiger [the khalif] from his den" (fourth stanza), and the tiger is a distinctly Asian animal. Finally,

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accompanied his father to the far east. See Marco Polo, *Marco Polo's Travels* (London: J.M. Dent Son, Ltd., 1908) (English translator not noted, but with an Introduction by John Masefield). An Italian version is available at http://www.istitutopalatucci.it/libri/Il_milione_di_Marco_Polo.pdf.

[137] See *Marco Polo's Travels*.

[138] Edward Balfour, *The Cyclopaedia of China and of Eastern and Southern Asia* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1885), 174: "In 1267, Kachilai Khan . . . built another city, called Tatu, or Kingching, or Shun-teen-fu, now called Peking. This is the Kambalu, the city of the Kublai Khan of Marco Polo."

the "great captain Alau" was probably Alau-d-din, an Indian ruler in the late 13th and early 14th century.[139]

Longfellow's decision to have the Spanish Jew relate this tale rather than the Poet, for example, supports Appel's theory that a Spanish Jew combined the traits of exotic places and concepts, and served to bring the Orient to the West. The Student's comment as soon as the Spanish Jew finishes ("I thought before your tale began"/. . . we should have some legend written by Judah Rav in Gemara of Babylon") even more strongly supports Appel's suggestion, because it explicitly reflects the disjunction between the teller's heritage and the substance of the tale.

The Spanish Jew's two remaining poems, as well as other contributions, only serve to reinforce Appel's proposition. Moreover, we can see another such disjunction in the Spanish Jew's use of one word, "Amen."

After the Theologian finishes the penultimate tale in part two, he says in an Interlude,

> "The Spanish proverb, then, is right;
> Consult your friends on what you do,
> And one will say that it is white,
> And others say that it is red."

[139] C. Mabel Duff, *The Chronology of India From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. 1899), 208 ff.

The Spanish Jew says, "Amen," thus making the Spanish Proverb a Jewish prayer. In this way, the Jew once again serves to introduce a non-Jewish, but exotic, concept. We will see a clearer example of this use of the Jew as a vehicle for exotic concepts the next time the Spanish Jew speaks.

PRELUDE, AZRAEL, AND SCANDERBEG, PART III

The Spanish Jew makes his next appearance in the Prelude to Part III of the *Tales*. The Sicilian asks the Spanish Jew why he appears to have said a "silent grace" before eating, and the Spanish Jew answers. He does not explain that he said the Hebrew benediction over the bread, a custom that Longfellow might have known from Stehelin.[140] Rather, he says,

> "I said the Manichaean's prayer.
> It was his faith,--perhaps is mine,--
> That life in all its forms is one,
> And that its secret conduits run
> Unseen, but in unbroken line,
> From the great fountain-head divine
> Through man and beast, through grain
> and grass.
> Howe'er we struggle, strive, and cry,
> From death there can be no escape,
> And no escape from life, alas

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[140] Stehelin, *Traditions of the Jews*, 257: "They are never to eat up all the Bread over which the Benediction has been pronounc'd at Table." (*sic*). Michel, "Longfellow Marginalia," Does not note a marginal note here, but the absence of such a note does not establish with certainty Longfellow's ignorance of this custom.

Because we cannot die, but pass
From one into another shape:
It is but into life we die.

"Therefore the Manichaean said
This simple prayer on breaking bread,
Lest he with hasty hand or knife
Might wound the incarcerated life,
The soul in things that we call dead:
'I did not reap thee, did not bind thee,
I did not thrash thee, did not grind thee,
Nor did I in the oven bake thee!
It was not I, it was another
Did these things unto thee, O brother;
I only have thee, hold thee, break thee!

The Spanish Jew thus invokes another religion altogether, Manichaeism, which is both Oriental and exotic.

Manichaeism was a religion that was founded by Mani in Persia in the third century of the common era. It offered, for our purposes, salvation through special knowledge of spiritual truth, and taught that life in this world is unbearably painful and radically evil. It was no longer practiced in any part of Christendom by the sixth century, although it was practiced in parts of Asia, and particularly in China (where it was nominally banned) until the 14th century.[141] Thus, its invocation by the Spanish Jew advanced Longfellow's goal (if indeed such was his goal) of introducing exotic, Oriental concepts to the West, as

[141] http://www-bcf.usc.edu/~sbriggs/Britannica/manichaeism.htm.

Appel proposes. It is ironic, therefore, that Manichaeism condemned Judaism as a religion that follows a false god.[142]

The Spanish Jew did, however, tell the next tale, "Azrael."

Azrael

> King Solomon, before his palace gate
> At evening, on the pavement tessellate
> Was walking with a stranger from the East,
> Arrayed in rich attire as for a feast,
> The mighty Runjeet-Sing, a learned man,
> And Rajah of the realms of Hindostan.
> And as they walked the guest became aware
> Of a white figure in the twilight air,
> Gazing intent, as one who with surprise
> His form and features seemed to recognize;
> And in a whisper to the king he said:
> "What is yon shape, that, pallid as
> the dead,
> Is watching me, as if he sought to trace
> In the dim light the features of my face?"
> The king looked, and replied: "I know
> him well;
> It is the Angel men call Azrael,
> 'T is [*sic*] the Death Angel; what hast thou
> to fear?"
> And the guest answered: "Lest he should come
> near,
> And speak to me, and take away my breath!
> Save me from Azrael, save me from death!
> O king, that hast dominion o'er the wind,
> Bid it arise and bear me hence to Ind."
> The king gazed upward at the cloudless sky,
> Whispered a word, and raised his hand
> on high,
> And lo! the signet-ring of chrysoprase
> On his uplifted finger seemed to blaze
> With hidden fire, and rushing from the west
> There came a mighty wind, and seized

[142] "Acta Archelai," chapter 11. "Acta Archelai, The Acts of the Disputation With the Heresiarch Manes," translation of S.D.F. Salmond. A new translation is available: Mark Vermes, *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai* (The Acts of Archelaus) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

the guest
And lifted him from earth, and on
they passed,
His shining garments streaming in the blast,
A silken banner o'er the walls upreared,
A purple cloud, that gleamed and
disappeared.
Then said the Angel, smiling: "If this man
Be Rajah Runjeet-Sing of Hindostan,
Thou hast done well in listening to
his prayer;
I was upon my way to seek him there."

Despite the presence of King Solomon, and despite the Sicilian's immediately following exhortation to "let the Talmud rest in peace," there is actually nothing specifically Jewish about this tale. Indeed, Azrael is the Islamic, not the Jewish, name for the Angel of Death.[143] Nevertheless, there is something about this tale that supports Appel's theory that Longfellow used the Spanish Jew as a means to impart Oriental culture to the United States.

King Solomon lived approximately 2900-3000 years ago. "Runjeet-Sing" (presumably a misspelling, by current standards, of Ranjit Singh) was born in 1780 and died in 1839. He was the founder and maharaja of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab,[144] and he obviously never met King Solomon. Morin, in his work cataloguing the sources of Longfellow's poems describes the

[143] *http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5018-death-angel-of*, and see also Morin, "Les sources de l'oeuvre," 538.
[144] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/491193/Ranjit-Singh.

meeting between the two men as a "bizarre anachronism,"[145] but Longfellow was proably less interested in historical accuracy than in his efforts to introduce exotic, Oriental concepts to Americans.[146]

Finally, the Spanish Jew tells his last tale (denominated the "Second Tale," because it is the second of his tales in Part III of the *Tales*), "Scanderbeg."

Scanderbeg

The battle is fought and won
By King Ladislaus, the Hun,
In fire of hell and death's frost,
On the day of Pentecost.
And in rout before his path
From the field of battle red
Flee all that are not dead
Of the army of Amurath.

In the darkness of the night
Iskander, the pride and boast
Of that mighty Othman host,
With his routed Turks, takes flight
From the battle fought and lost
On the day of Pentecost;
Leaving behind him dead
The army of Amurath,
The vanguard as it led,
The rearguard as it fled,
Mown down in the bloody swath
Of the battle's aftermath.

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[145] Morin, 538.

[146] This disregard for historical accuracy we have alreay encountered in the context of "Paul Revere's Ride," which LePore proposes to have been a call o arms to abolitionists. See n.36, above.

But he cared not for Hospodars,
Nor for Baron or Voivode,
As on through the night he rode
And gazed at the fateful stars,
That were shining overhead;
But smote his steed with his staff,
And smiled to himself, and said;
"This is the time to laugh."

In the middle of the night,
In a halt of the hurrying flight,
There came a Scribe of the King
Wearing his signet ring,
And said in a voice severe:
"This is the first dark blot
On thy name, George Castriot!
Alas! why art thou here,
And the army of Amurath slain,
And left on the battle plain?"

And Iskander answered and said:
"They lie on the bloody sod
By the hoofs of horses trod;
But this was the decree
Of the watchers overhead;
For the war belongeth to God,
And in battle who are we,
Who are we, that shall withstand
The wind of his lifted hand?"

Then he bade them bind with chains
This man of books and brains;
And the Scribe said: "What misdeed
Have I done, that, without need,
Thou doest to me this thing?"
And Iskander answering
Said unto him: "Not one
Misdeed to me hast thou done;
But for fear that thou shouldst run
And hide thyself from me,
Have I done this unto thee.

"Now write me a writing, O Scribe,
And a blessing be on thy tribe!
A writing sealed with thy ring,
To King Amurath's Pasha

In the city of Croia,
The city moated and walled,
That he surrender the same
In the name of my master, the King;
For what is writ in his name
Can never be recalled."

And the Scribe bowed low in dread,
And unto Iskander said:
"Allah is great and just,
But we are as ashes and dust;
How shall I do this thing,
When I know that my guilty head
Will be forfeit to the King?"

Then swift as a shooting star
The curved and shining blade
Of Iskander's scimetar
From its sheath, with jewels bright,
Shot, as he thundered: "Write!"
And the trembling Scribe obeyed,
And wrote in the fitful glare
Of the bivouac fire apart,
With the chill of the midnight air
On his forehead white and bare,
And the chill of death in his heart.

Then again Iskander cried:
"Now follow whither I ride,
For here thou must not stay.
Thou shalt be as my dearest friend,
And honors without end
Shall surround thee on every side,
And attend thee night and day."
But the sullen Scribe replied
"Our pathways here divide;
Mine leadeth not thy way."

And even as he spoke
Fell a sudden scimetar-stroke,
When no one else was near;
And the Scribe sank to the ground,
As a stone, pushed from the brink
Of a black pool, might sink
With a sob and disappear;
And no one saw the deed;
And in the stillness around

No sound was heard but the sound
Of the hoofs of Iskander's steed,
As forward he sprang with a bound.

Then onward he rode and afar,
With scarce three hundred men,
Through river and forest and fen,
O'er the mountains of Argentar;
And his heart was merry within,
When he crossed the river Drin,
And saw in the gleam of the morn
The White Castle Ak-Hissar,
The city Croia called,
The city moated and walled,
The city where he was born,--
And above it the morning star.

Then his trumpeters in the van
On their silver bugles blew,
And in crowds about him ran
Albanian and Turkoman,
That the sound together drew.
And he feasted with his friends,
And when they were warm with wine,
He said: "O friends of mine,
Behold what fortune sends,
And what the fates design!
King Amurath commands
That my father's wide domain,
This city and all its lands,
Shall be given to me again."

Then to the Castle White
He rode in regal state,
And entered in at the gate
In all his arms bedight,
And gave to the Pasha
Who ruled in Croia
The writing of the King,
Sealed with his signet ring.
And the Pasha bowed his head,
And after a silence said:
"Allah is just and great!
I yield to the will divine,
The city and lands are thine;
Who shall contend with fate?"

Anon from the castle walls
The crescent banner falls,
And the crowd beholds instead,
Like a portent in the sky,
Iskander's banner fly,
The Black Eagle with double head;
And a shout ascends on high,
For men's souls are tired of the Turks,
And their wicked ways and works,
That have made of Ak-Hissar
A city of the plague;
And the loud, exultant cry
That echoes wide and far
Is: "Long live Scanderbeg!"

It was thus Iskander came
Once more unto his own;
And the tidings, like the flame
Of a conflagration blown
By the winds of summer, ran,
Till the land was in a blaze,
And the cities far and near,
Sayeth Ben Joshua Ben Meir,
In his Book of the Words of the Days,
"Were taken as a man
Would take the tip of his ear."

Like "Kambalu" and "Azrael," this tale has nothing to do with Spain, although it does have a relationship to Judaism: Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir ha-Kohen was born in Avignon in 1496, died in Genoa around 1575, and did write a book called *Divrei ha-yamim le-Malkhei Zarefat u-le-malkhei Beit Ottoman Ha-Tagar* (The Words of the Days of the Kings of France and Turkey).[147] Once again, however, the Spanish Jew is being used, as Appel

[147] *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 10. I have not been able to determine how Longfellow knew this work. See also Thomas Kneightly, *The Crusaders* (London: John W. Parker 1834), 26.

suggests, to introduce an exotic legend, this time from the Middle East, to the West.

"Scanderbeg," as Longfellow styles him, is better known as Skanderbeg, "the revered Albanian hero" also known as Iskander, Iskander Beg, Iskander Bey, and George Castriota. He lived from 1404 until 1468, and as a Christian leader of the Albanians fought long and successfully to keep the Moslem Turks at bay.[148] Every image in the poem concerns this long fight between the Albanians and the Turks.

"Pentecost," for example (first stanza), means not Shavuot, the Jewish holiday that falls 50 days after Passover, but rather the day when the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles (although the event happened on Shavuot).[149] "Amurath" is Amurath II, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1421 until 1451.[150] "The city of Croia" (seventh stanza) is Skanderbeg's birthplace.[151] Finally, the "Black Eagle with double head" (penultimate stanza) is a reference to the Albanian flag, which indeed displays a two-headed, black eagle on a red field. Thus, we see that "Scanderbeg" is neither a Spanish tale nor a Jewish tale, but rather an Asiatic tale.

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[148] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/547262/Skanderbeg, Robert Gale, *A Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Companion*, 257.
[149] http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15614b.htm.
[150] William J.J. Spry, *Life on the Bosphorus* (London: H.S. Nichols 1895), 39.
[151] Gale, *Longfellow Companion*, 257.

WAS LONGFELLOW ANTISEMITIC

We reach, then, the final issue: what were Longfellow's feelings about the Jews? To answer this question, we need to revisit those lines in *Hiawatha*, quoted above, about the "Jews, the tribe accursed," and explore other evidence of Longfellow's feelings toward the Jews.

We know these lines in *Hiawatha*, and similar lines in "Jewish Cemetery" about the "accursed Mordecai" who was "mocked and jeered." We have also seen the characterization of the traveling companion with the "customary hooked nose and half-moon mouth of his tribe" who was trying to save money by traveling day and night. We have seen the reference to the painting of Jews, although Longfellow's disdain appears to have been directed toward the painter. We know also that Longfellow's journal recounts a reading (and, in part, a communal reading) of Eugene Sue's *The Wandering Jew*,[152] and that

[152] Journal entries of February 11 and 20, 1846, quoted in vol 2. of Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Chicago: Sequoya Books [reprint of the original edition of 1887] 2003), 33-34, and a letter to Charles Sumner about the book, July 10, 1858, at 358. Sue's book was originally published in 1844, and republished in 1903 in New York by the Century Co. The legend of the Wandering Jew concerns a Jew who either reebuffed or struck Jesus on his way to the crucifixion and is thus doomed to wander the earth until the second coming. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 16. Sue's book, according to the article in the *E.J.*, is an "anti-Jesuit satire." A digitized version of the book is available at http://books.google.

Longfellow in 1855 wrote a letter to George William Curtis naming a number of works about the legend of the wandering Jew.[153] Finally, we need to relate a joke that Longfellow recounts in his journal entry of December 6, 1839:

> A fellow lodging in the house of a Jew buys of him all the *flies* in the house, with permission to kill them as he pleases, for amusement. He then coolly takes out his pistol and begins to shoot at them wherever they alight, -- on windows, looking-glasses, no matter where; bang! bang! till finally the Jew is glad to buy him off.[154]

Thus, we see in Longfellow's published and private writings evidence of stereotyping: Jews are money-conscious (if not money grubbing), they have hooked noses, they rejected the son of God and the true faith, and they are accursed. On the other hand, Longfellow defended the young man who was trying to woo Clara Crowninshield, he depicted the Jews positively even as he noted their demise in "The Jewish Cemetery," and he wrote at least one letter to a Jew that seems to suggest an admiration both for Jewish culture and Jews.

In early May, 1874, Jacob G. Ascher, a German-born jeweler living in Montreal, sometime poet, and active member of

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com/books?id=qEOAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[153] Hilen, *Letters*, no. 1419.

[154] Quoted in *The Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, volume one of the three-volume Riverside Press edition of 1891, 347-348.

Montreal's Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society,[155] sent to Longfellow a poem called "Jacob's Pillow. On May 20, 1874, Longfellow responded:

> I am very obliged to you for your poem, which I have read with great interest and pleasure; and I hope your success will induce you to put into verse other legends of the Talmud.
>
> In Germany this has already been done, as perhaps you are aware, by Ab[raham] M. Tendlau in "Das Buch der Sagen und Legendan judischer Vorzeit." A similar collection in English would be very interesting.[156]

Finally, Longfellow's letters show, unfortunately, that he was as able as anybody to show real bigotry. On September 19, 1850, he wrote to James Thomas Fields about an applicant for employment:

> Patrick Cummings called on me today; and not wishing to tell him to his face that "*no Irishman need apply*," I told him to call on you tomorrow. Will you be kind enough to say, that I shall not need his services, this being the very least likely to give offense.[157]

Six days later Longfellow wrote another letter to Fields, about a notice that Longfellow saw in the "Transcript," a local newspaper:

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[155] Wilfred Shuchat, *The Gates of Heaven: the Story of Congregation Shaar Hashomayim of Montreal, 1846-1996* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 2000), 29.
[156] Hilen, no. 3460, footnotes omitted, brackets in Hilen.
[157] Hilen, *Letters*, no. 1128.

> P.S. I saw in Transcript that "T.G." wants a place as indoor servant. Would you be so kind as to send to "Transcript" and ask about him. Is he Irish? &c.[158]

Furthermore, five years later, on February 20, 1855, Longfellow wrote a third letter to Fields on this subject:

> "No Irish need apply." . . . "a wild Irishman in the Kitchen cannot be tolerated."[159]

No writing by Longfellow displays this kind of overt bigotry toward the Jews.

It is fair to say, then, that Longfellow was probably not antisemitic (or at least no more antisemitic than most educated people of his time),[160] but, on the contrary, saw the Jews as a persecuted and valiant, if even disappearing, people, as we saw in "The Jewish Cemetery." As he said describing the Jewish guest at the spa, "It is one of my weaknesses, to become attached to people and places," and he seems to have been "attached to" some idealized concept of the Jew.

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[158] Hilen, no. 1132. In a footnote, Hilen notes, "There seems to be little doubt from this remark and from his statement in Letter 1128 that Longfellow shared the general feeling of his day against the Irish."
[159] Hilen, no. 1413.
[160] Packard, "Longfellow and the Jewish Cemetery," 171, citing Wagenknecht.

CONCLUSION

There are two separate questions that we need to address. We need to determine, if we can, why Longfellow in his poems retold legends from the Talmud or other Jewish sources, stories that were not Biblical in origin. We also need to determine, if we can, why Longfellow used the Spanish Jew as teller of three tales that were not at all Jewish or Spanish in nature. Let us tackle the first question first.

Longfellow, for whatever reasons, championed underdogs. More particularly, he championed underdogs that had been or were being persecuted to the point of eradication. "Evangeline," for example, is a fictional rendition of the forced exile of French Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755. The Acadians were devoutly Roman Catholic French who been encouraged to settle Nova Scotia in the 1600s, when Canada was a French colony. By 1750, the Acadians numbered between 12,000 and 18,000, and vastly outnumbered the English settlers, who lived mostly in Halifax. The Acadians had friendly relations with the indigenous Micmac,[161] and as French and British battled for possession of Canada, the British suspected that the Acadians were aiding the Micmacs' raids against the British. Although the Acadians were

[161] Spelled Mi'kmaq on the Nova Scotia government's official website, see http://www.gov.ns.ca/nsarm/virtual/deportation/intro.asp?Language=English.

British subjects (at a time when the British prevailed in their fight against the French), most Acadians would not disavow their oath of loyalty to the French king.

In 1754, Major Charles Lawrence, the governor of Nova Scotia first confiscated the Acadians' weapons, and then, between 1755 and 1760, forcibly deported about 6000 Acadians. They were dispersed around the world, but many of them settled in what is now Louisiana, where their descendants are known as Cajuns. "Probably hundreds of [Acadians] died of starvation, exposure, and disease in the years immediately after 1755."[162] Although Longfellow never equated the Acadians and the Jews in his extra-poetical writings, the poem itself contains a reference to the Israelites that makes the comparison hard to escape: "As if life, like the Hebrew, with blood had besprinkled its portals,/That the Angel of Death might see the sign, and pass over." ("Evangeline," Part the Second, V).

"The Song of Hiawatha," similarly, can be read as a romanticization of the American Indian at a time when Indian lands and customs and indeed very existence were being threatened by the white settlers. Surely, for example, Longfellow knew the fate of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations as they were deported from their homelands and

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[162] Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 182. Calhoun notes that the episode had been almost forgotten and "Evangeline" "put [the Acadians] back on the map." 182.

walked the Trail of Tears;[163] Longfellow ten years before *Hiawatha* had memorialized the fates of displaced Indian Nations in "The Driving Cloud." Thus, the American Indians, like the Acadians, were persecuted peoples whom Longfellow wanted to present as unfairly persecuted peoples.

Moreover, Longfellow, who was criticized for not writing more aggressively against slavery,[164] nevertheless acted quietly to redeem and protect slaves. He often contributed money to help to educate or free slaves, and after the Fugitive Slave Act was passed, he contributed money to organizations that helped slaves escape.[165] A page of Longfellow's account books shows the

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[163] Cecelia Tichi, "Longfellow's Motives for the Structure of 'Hiawatha,'" in *American Literature*, vol. 42, no. 4 (548-553), at 552 (1971).

[164] In 1845, Longfellow agreed to have his anti-slavery poems omitted from a volume of his collected works after his publisher warned him that failing to omit the poems might negatively affect sales of the book in the South. Calhoun, *Longfellow*, 175. On the other hand, Calhoun notes that Longfellow's publication of his anti-slavery poems in 1842 entailed a "risk to his reputation, personal as well as literary," because many of his Boston friends, including the Appletons, were involved in the textile industry, which depended upon a steady supply of Southern cotton. 156. We have already see, moreover, that "Paul Revere's Ride" may well have been an anti-slavery poem, n. 37, above, and Calhoun suggests that *Hiawatha* also can be read as a comment on the state of the United States in an era when north-south and slavery-abolitionist tensions were rising). Calhoun, 212-214.

[165] http://www.nps.gov/long/historyculture/henry-wadsworth-longfellow-abolitionist.htm.

some of the contributions to causes that educated or worked to free slaves,[166] and the list is extensive.

It should not surprise us, then, that Longfellow viewed the Jews in the same way that he viewed the Acadians, the American Indians, and the African-American slaves: a persecuted people who deserved honor and at least literary perpetuation. Of course, we have seen evidence of this view in the very existence of the "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," of "Sandalphon," and in the choice of the Spanish Jew as a teller of tales in the *Tales*. We see, moreover, additional evidence in a different tale in Part I of the *Tales*, the Theologian's Tale, "Torquemada," as well as the reaction to the tale of the Spanish Jew.

"Torquemada" tells the tale of an unnamed "hidalgo" who, believing his own daughters to be heretics, accuses them and hands them to Tomas de Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain in the latter decades of the 15th Century, to be burned at the stake. Woven into the story, however, are images of the fate of the Jews' in Catholic Spain during the Inquisition. Thus, the hidalgo enjoys standing in the crowd "with lighted taper" "when Jews were burned, or banished from the land." When Torquemada comes to the hidalgo's town, he comes with "fifty horsemen of his train," and begins "to harry the rich Jews with fire and

[166] http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/houghton/exhibits/longfellow/public_poet/41.html

ban." At the climax of the tale, when the daughters are burned, the stakes to which they are tied are carvings of "Hebrew Prophets," who "gaz[e] with calm indifference in their eyes/Upon this place of human sacrifice." Thus, Longfellow recounts the historical fate of the Jews at the hands of the inquisitors, and furthermore binds the Jews (in the form of those "Hebrew Prophets") to the fate of all victims who were burned.

This nod to the historical persecution of the Jews is absorbed by the Spanish Jew, who in the following "Interlude" is

> thoughtful and distressed;
> Upon his memory thronged and pressed
> The persecution of his race,
> Their wrongs and sufferings and disgrace;
> His head was sunk upon his breast,
> And from his eyes alternate came
> Flashes of wrath and tears of shame.

The Acadians, the Indians, the African slaves, and the Jews were of a kind to Longfellow: persecuted peoples who needed to be remembered. And so Longfellow remembered them.

Now, perhaps, we can try to conclude why Longfellow used a Spanish Jew to tell three tales that were neither Jewish nor Spanish. To be sure, there were other potential, non-white, non-Anglo-Saxon, non-Protestant models for Longfellow's exotic tale-teller, but they all had defects. An American Indian could have been the model, except that white Americans viewed the

Indians as savages[167] and Longfellows readers would not have seen the Indians as being able to transmit any cultural themes. Certainly the African Negro was exotic, but most Americans at that time saw the Negro as a slave or an inferior being. Longfellow had already in "Evangeline" depicted the Acadians as an exotic people with a sad history, and given Longfellow's admiration for the ancient, Moorish ballads of Spain, he could have chose a Moslem. The Moslem population in the United States in Longfellow's time, however, was essentially non-existent,[168] so a Moorish figure would not suffice; Americans would not identify at all with a Moslem.

Similarly, Longfellow could have used a native of the Far East, such as an Indian merchant, or an Arabian prince, or a Turkish trader to tell the three Spanish Jew's tales that are set in Asia. Asians in Longfellows time were not well represented in the United States. Most of the Asian immigrants at that time were Chinese, and most of them were laborers. They

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[167] See, for example, Jesus Garcia, "Native Americans in U. S. History Textbooks: FROM BLOODY SAVAGES TO HEROIC CHIEFS," in *Journal of American Indian Education*, vol. 17 no. 2 (January 1978).

[168] See, *e.g.*, www.tanenbaum.org/sites/default/files/Muslims%20and%20Islam%20in%20the%20US%20Fact%20Sheet%20FORMATTED.pdf

too would not have been people with whom Americans could identify.

Longfellow needed a figure who was exotic but well known. The Bible was a familiar book to most people in the late-middle 1800s, so the Jew was well known (even if Jews were not well known). Longfellow's decision to have the Spanish Jew tell these tales apparently reflects Longfellow's view of the Jews as exotic and thus a representative of anything Oriental, a view that Longfellow evidently believed his audience to hold as well. We see evidence of this use of the Jew when he tells the tale of Kambalu, with its Asian themes. We see evidence of this use of the Jew when he tells the tale of Azrael, which in the first place is Islamic in origin, and in the second place depicts a meeting between an Israelite king and a Punjabi Maharaja who lived thousands of years apart. We see evidence of this use of the Jew when he tells the tale of Scanderbeg, an Albanian hero in an country in which hardly any Jews lived (although Longfellow may not have known that fact).

Longfellow was writing to a largely Protestant audience at a time when most members of that audience knew their Bible and thus were probably very much like Longfellow himself in one regard: they knew something (or thought that they knew something) about Jews, even if they knew no, or few, actual Jews. Thus, Longfellow's audience could better accept exotic

themes like the ones in "Azrael" or "Kambalu" or "Scanderbeg" if they were delivered by a Jew than by a member of an ethnic group with whom the members of Longfellow's audience had no common ground.In sum, the Spanish Jew was a good choice, combining as he did a strangeness that most people knew, or might have known (the Jewish aspect), with a strangeness that Longfellow felt (the Spain aspect). The Jew to Longfellow's audience might have been a stereotype, and he might have been unusual or even exotic, but at least, in certain ways, he was familiar.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First I have to thank my wife Gayle, who has heard me talk about this project since at least September, 1995, when I first contacted the Longfellow National Historic Site to ask whether Longfellow's journal and other papers were there. They are not; they are at the Houghton Library at Harvard, where Gayle let me spend two days looking at Longfellow's journals, with positive results, I am happy to say.

Rabbi Jeff Hoffman approved this project, thus forcing me to do something that I have been wanting to do for about two decades. I hope that the result is worth it.

My brother Philip and my friend Susan Rivkind helped me with translations. Philip translated the relevant pages of Corrodi's book, and Susan translated the relevant pages of Morin's paper.

Christine Wirth, the archivist at the Craigie House, provided valuable information to me about the Jewish themes and stories in Longfellow's poems. When I visited the Craigie House on a Tuesday in late August, 2013, not realizing that it was closed (the site is open only from Wednesday to Saturday), Christine spent almost two and a half hours with me, showing me the house and the furnishings, and showing me Longfellow's annotated copy of Stehelin's *Traditions of the Jews*. In

addition, Christine sent to me copies of pages of Longfellow's copy of Stehelin's book showing the marginal notes. Many times when I uncovered something that I thought to be significant, I e-mailed Christine to ask her opinion. She was always helpful.

Robert and Julia Latzer, both retired professors (although not of English literature) agreed to read the first draft of the paper and made many suggestions, mostly regarding style, but sometimes regarding organization and substance. I incorporated many of their suggestions in this paper.

The English Department at Rutgers University was also helpful. I originally telephoned the then-chairman of the English Department, Professor Carolyn Williams, who heard my plea for a mentor and said that she would circulate my desire for a mentor among her faculty. Her helpful action led to my being contacted by Associate Professor Meredith McGill, who agreed to supervise this paper. Professor McGill and I met for about an hour in May, 2013, and then she reviewed the first draft and made many substantive suggestions, which have greatly improved the paper.

Finally, Joyce Michel. I discovered doing my research Joyce' lecture to the Sudbury Historical Association about Isaac Edrehi, Longfellow's model for the Spanish Jew, and e-mailed an officer of the Association and asked for contact information about Joyce. Initially, we spoke on the telephone for about an

hour, during which she mentioned her fellowship at Craigie House, where she was cataloguing all of the marginal notes in Longfellow's copy of Stehelin's book. Almost all of the appended pages are copies of photographs that Joyce took (two are photographs that I took of the book when Christine Wirth showed it to me). I have asked Joyce' opinion about many thoughts that I have had writing this paper, and she has always been helpful. She often saw things that I missed and had ideas that I had not conceived.

I now own Joyce' copy of van Schaick's book about the characters in *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, and here is how I came to acquire it. Once I discovered the book existed, I sought a copy, but the first two copies I found were $75 and $150 dollars (for a book that sold for $1.50 in 1940 and is scarcely a best-seller). Then, I discovered a copy selling for $15, and when I received it, I discovered that it was inscribed by the author: "To Mr. and Mrs. Arthur W. Crawford with the affectionate greetings of John and Julia R. van Schaick, December 18, 1946." By then, I had met Joyce, who also had a copy of the book. I, thinking that the inscribed copy would be more meaningful to her than it was to me (given her association with the Sudbury Historical Society; the inn is in Sudbury), proposed that we exchange copies, which we did.

Joyce is probably the most helpful person that I encountered writing this paper, and she continues to send me information about her personal interest, Isaac Edrehi. Joyce and I have not yet met in person, and her willingness to help what amounts to a total stranger with a starry-eyed dream of a research paper appropriately reflects Longfellow's own willingness to help people, even total strangers.

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